An Hiſtorical
EXAMINATION
OF THE
AUTHORITY
OF
GENERAL COUNCILS.

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(An Hiſtorical Examination of the Authority of General Councils.)

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Jo. Battely R^mo Patri ac Domino *Wilhelmo*, Archiep. *Cantuar.* à Sacris Domeſticis.

AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF General Councils,

SHEWING

The falſe dealing that hath been uſed in the publiſhing of them;

By Mr Jenkins AND Fellow of St Johns

The difference amongſt the Papiſts themſelves Colledge in about their Number. Cambridg.

The ſecond Edition corrected.

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THE PREFACE.

THE chief Controverſies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, have of late been managed to the beſt advantage on both ſides. The more judicious ſeem to be ſatisfy'd, and others to be tired out with a cloſe and eager debate of above two years continuance; all ſeem to be ſettled now, and fixed in their Principles, and every one ſees, or thinks he ſees on which ſide the Truth lies. I am confident all has been ſaid for Popery that can be ſaid, though I am not ſo well aſſured that much more might not have been ſaid againſt it, which has been ſpared out of a regard to our common Chriſtianity, and to Religion in general, beſides the reſpect due to a great and gratious Prince of that Communion. But our Adverſaries have not been wanting to their own Cauſe in this opportunity, nor in the leaſt favourable to ours. At firſt, they would ſeem to be ſatisfied, if they could be truly repreſented, and rightly underſtood; but thoſe colours were ſoon wiped off, and ſomething muſt be done to blacken us, when they could not appear ſo lovely as they deſired. Laborious attempts therefore have been made againſt the chief Points of the Reformation; againſt our Office of the Euchariſt, againſt our Church-Government and Ordination, and all this by a Perſon who has been ſo little convinced by theſe Books, that while he had them by him, he liv'd in our

Compt. Carlton. Curſ. Theolog. Trm. Poſter. Diſp. 2. § 6.

[Suarez *aſſerts, that the Pope may change the manner of Election now in uſe.*

'Tis certain that Popery *is carried on in all its heights even in* France *it ſelf, and the* Gallican *Privileges betrayed by that very ſort of Men who would now be thought the chief defenders of them. The Authour of a Book entituled,* The Pernicious Conſequences of the new Hereſie of the Jeſuits againſt the King and the State, *publiſhed* Febr. 1. MDCLXII. *being an Advocate of Parliament, complains that the opinion of the Pope's infallibility had got ground in* France (a), *and that there was great likelyhood of its ſpreading daily, it being the general opinion of the* Jeſuits, *who are a vaſt Body diffuſed throughout all parts of the world, and have the Education of Youth wherever they come.* Duvall *endeavoured to introduce this Doctrine into the* Sorbon, *but attempted it warily, ſaying, that neither the one nor the other ſide of the Queſtion is* de fide. *But though he was all his life in great favour at* Rome, *yet has he ſince been very ill treated by F.* Raynaud, *a* Jeſuit *at* Lyons *for his great caution and reſtraint in a matter of that importance.* (b) *He ſhews that this Doctrine by degrees gained ground, till the* Jeſuits *growing daily more inſolent proceeded to that extravagant Theſis of the College of* Cleremont, *wherein they dared to mintain publickly in the midſt of* Paris *it ſelf, and in the face of the Parliament, that* Jeſus Chriſt *has given to all Popes, whenever they ſhall ſpeak* è Cathedra, *the ſame Infallibility himſelf had, as well in matters of Fact as of Right. Great care is taken to ſuppreſs all Books which thwart this Doctrine, and to publiſh and give credit to ſuch as may infuſe it.* Baronius *and his* Continuators *are the Authours for Hiſtory chiefly in vogue, and theſe without coming near him in his Excellencies, infinitely ſurpaſs him in his Faults. He particularly obſerves* Raynaldus *to have been a Man without the Spirit of an Eccleſiaſtick, without ſtyle, without judgment, without ſincerity,*

(a) p. 85, 86.

(b) p. 94, &c.

cerity, without credit, yet he had the boldneſs to dedicate his eighteenth Tome to the French *Clergy, and preſented it to the Aſſembly of the Clergy,* MDCLX; *and though this Doctrine of the Authority of Councils is every where ſtyled Schiſmatical and Heretical, the* Pragmatick Sanction *vilified, the Council of* Baſil *outraged, and all the Popes who poſſeſſed the See in* Avignon *during the Schiſm pronounced Antipopes, who are the onely Popes that* France *has acknowledged, though the moſt undefenſible pretences of the Church of* Rome *are every where juſtified, yet all the diſfavour or diſcouragement that Book met with was, that* Raynaldus *did not receive a Letter of thanks from the* French *Clergy, as he expected, but no Sentence being paſſed upon it, this ſilence, as my Authour obſerves, will be one day taken for a tacit approbation, and the Abettors of the Court of* Rome *believe with great reaſon that they have however gained a main point, ſince there has been nothing poſitively done againſt ſuch a Work preſented to the whole Clergy, beſides the advantage gained by having ſuch Books received and read without prohibition, that may inſtill thoſe Principles, whereas the Epiſcopal Decrees of the Biſhops of* France (c) *have been treated by the Biſhops of* Rome *to that degree of indignity as to be ranged among the condemned Books, without vouchſafing either to clear it with the Biſhops before Cenſure, or to render them any Account of what they thought amiſs afterwards.*

(c) p. 71.

After all the hideous outcries againſt Richerius, (d) *when he requeſted of a certain Biſhop, one of Cardinal* Perron's *intimate Friends, that he might have a fair hearing, and liberty allow'd him to offer what he had to ſay in defence of his Book* de Eccleſiaſtica Poteſtate, *the Biſhop freely told him, that he had made himſelf ſo many Enemies, not by writing Errours but too plain and unpleaſing Truths, that though there was nothing could be diſproved in his Book, yet the Church-men had much rather have their ſole*

(d) Præf. ad Hiſtoriam Conc. Gen. p. 2, 3.

dependance on the Pope, than to have the perpetual trouble and diſſatisfaction of appearing before Secular Judges. The Pope promiſed the D. of Eſpernon *a Cardinalſhip for his Son, if he would deliver him* Richerius *into the Inquiſition; whereupon he was thruſt into Priſon: but the whole Univerſity of* Paris *interceded for him to the Parliament, and upon a full hearing he was releaſed: but the Pope recompenſed the Duke's good will with the promiſed reward to his Son. And when* Richelieu *requeſted a red Hat of* Urban *the Eighth, for his Brother,* Richerius's *retractation was the price muſt be paid for it.* (e) *The Apoſtolick Notary comes to* Paris *and is entertained by F.* Joſeph *a Capuchin, who having left his Convent then lived in the City. This F.* Joſeph *was* Richelieu's *Confeſſour, and was employ'd by him to prepare all buſineſs firſt, and then to bring it to him.* (f) *Butillerius* Pater & *Joſephus* Capucinus negotia cruda accipiunt, cocta ad Cardinalem deferunt. *In Eaſter Week, an acquaintance of F.* Joſeph's, *one of the* Sorbon, *and a great Friend, as he pretended, to* Richerius, *is ſent to the good Man to invite him in F.* Joſeph's *name to dinner, that ſo he might give his opinion in a point of Controverſie.* Richerius *excuſed it, ſaying he never frequented Feaſts, but he would wait upon him after Dinner, and being preſſed to come, not to be uncivil, he comply'd. As ſoon as Dinner was done, a Queſtion was deſignedly mov'd, concerning the Pope's Authority, of which when* Richerius *diſcourſed, modeſtly, as his manner was, F.* Joſeph *tells him, now, ſays he, you muſt either retract your Book which you formerly writ,* de Eccleſiaſtica & Politica Poteſtate, *or die for it: at that certain Ruffians ruſhed forth armed from behind the Hangings, and threatned to murther him: in this dreadfull ſurprize, the poor old Man ſubſcribed a Retractation ready prepared and drawn up for him, and immediately was carried home: where, when he conſidered what he had done, he wrote this Account of the buſineſs to his friend*

(e) *Claudii Barth. Moriſbi* Ep. ad *Carelum* in fine Vindic. Doct. &c. *Richer.* lib. 4. p. 100.

(f) *Grot.* Let. 375. part. 1.

friend Morisotus, *lamenting extremely his own timorousness and fainting under this Calamity much more grievous to him than Death it self, he had scarce sealed his Letter, but flinging himself upon his Bed, he dy'd. How little better* Launoy *fared, is sufficiently known from an Account of his Life, lately printed at* London.

Whilst these are the proceedings against the Advocates for the Gallican *Church, its Adversaries are encouraged, and their Works in high esteem.* (g) *The Abridgment of the Councils by* Coriolanus *was printed at* Paris, *and revised by a Dr. of the Faculty, though all the Maxims contrary to the Doctrine of the* Gallican *Church, are set at the beginning of the Book as so many Catholick Doctrines. And the Councils are published by men devoted to the Pope: for the* Jesuites *have ever had the Government of the Royal Press; and in printing the Councils have left in the Life of* Boniface *the Eighth, these outragious words, as the Advocate rightly terms them, against all* France, Philippum Pulchrum *Galliæ* Regem juste excommunicavit, *and this printed at the King's House, at his own Charges. Nor is there the least intimation given that that Pope exceeded his Authority, when he threatned to depose him* (h). *And though* Cossartius *takes notice that* Binius *was mistaken in saying,* Philip *was* (i) *justly excommunicated, whereas he was not indeed at all excommunicated, yet is not one word said, but that he might deserve to be excommunicated, or any thing to the contrary, but that the Pope did very well in threatning him with Deposition.*

(g) New Heresie, p. 100.

(h) Vit. Bonif. VIII. Tom. 28. p. 676.

(i) Conc. Labbé Tom. XI. part. 2. p. 1389.

The judicious Advocate abovementioned, foresaw what was to be expected from this last Edition of the Councils, which was then in hand, for Labbé *had caused a Draught of the Work to be printed, and I am apt to think, that through this Author's Complaint the Council of* Basil *had more right done it than otherwise it would have had. But the Treatises presix't in the* Apparatus *are such as quite*

overthrow the Gallican *Privileges, and the Doctrines peculiar to that Church. For Cardinal* Jacobatius, (k) de Conciliis, *ſets himſelf purpoſely to prove the Superiority of the Pope to a Council, and anſwers all Objections againſt it, and in plain terms denies the Authority of the Decrees of* Conſtance; *and making uſe of thoſe known Evaſions,* (l) *that theſe Decrees were to take place onely in the times of Schiſm between two contending Popes, or in caſe of Hereſie, or that it was no general Conſtitution, but limited to the preſent exigency of Affairs; in ſhort, he denies that any Conſtitution of a Council can bind the Pope, becauſe he has no Superiour but God; and ſo in all points he palpably contradicts the Doctrine of the* French *Church. Paulus Fabulottus,* (m) de Poteſtate Papæ ſupra Concilium, *proves his Tenets by all manner of arguments from Scripture, from Reaſon, from Hiſtory, from Fathers and from Councils; and in his fifth Chap. where he ſhews the Pope's Superiority from Councils, he ſhews particularly that the* French *ought not to except againſt the Authority of the laſt Council of the* Lateran, *becauſe they acknowledge its Authority in enjoying the Privileges granted them in the Bull of* Leo *the Tenth, which confirmed it; and it is unreaſonable, ſays he, that they ſhould allow it when it makes for their advantage, and reject it in other matters.* (n) *He pretends to ſhew that* Martin *the Fifth did by his Bull retract the Decrees of the Fourth and Fifth Seſſions of* Conſtance, *made, ſays he, in Schiſm; by appointing the Queſtion to be put to all ſuſpected of Hereſie,* An credant *Romanum* Pontificem in Dei Eccleſia ſupremam habere Poteſtatem? "*Whether they believe that the Pope has ſu-*"*preme Power in the Church of God? And ſo turns the Council of* Conſtance *upon the* French. *In a word, he concludes, that whoever perſiſts obſtinately in the contrary Opinion, againſt ſo many Councils, (for he produces no fewer than ſix, whereof that of* Conſtance *is the ſecond) muſt needs*

(k) Lib. 10. p. 519. in Appar. Concil. *Labbé.*

(l) p. 536.

(m) Ibid. p. 69, 70.

(n) Ibid.

needs be an Heretick. He particularly answers the Objections brought from the Council of Constance *in the usual manner; as for the Council of* Basil, *he says, all Catholicks confess it was not a lawfull Council, when it defined Councils to be above the Pope. At last he concludes with admiration, that any one should, to the destruction of his Soul, be so perverse as to call in question so certain a Truth, established on so strong Arguments and so great Authorities.* (o) Caranza *maintains the Popes Infallibility, and says, it was never doubted of till the Councils of* Constance *and* Basil. *He spends his fourth Controversie in shewing, against these two Councils, that Popes are above General Councils.* Petrus de Monte *in his* Monarchia, (p) *runs as high as any of the rest, and, to make a Pope a complete Monarch, exempts the Clergy from the Obedience, and their Possessions from the Dominions of temporal Princes. But* Jacobatius, (q) *if it be possible, goes beyond this. For he maintains the deposing Power, and affirms, that the Pope alone may depose Emperours and Kings, and whomsoever he pleases, and particularly the King of* France, *and this without the advice and concurrence of his Cardinals; he makes no doubt of his deposing Power, the onely Question is, whether he can doe it alone without his Cardinals, and he determines in the Affirmative, so little regard is to be had to that which is esteemed the Doctrine of the* French *Church, and which some would have us think is the* Roman-*Catholick Doctrine; and the Doctrine against the Pope's Infallibility, the* Sententia Parisiensium, *as it is called in contempt, is every where decry'd even in* Paris *it self.*

(o) Controvers. III. p. 112. in Appar. Conc. Labbé.

(p) In Appar. p. 155.

(q) Ibid. p. 329.

The Jesuits *at* Cologne (r) *laid down this Rule,* In Censura *Colonienſi,* fol. 132. If any Man examin the Doctrine of the Pope by the Rule of God's Word, and seeing that it is different, chance to contradict it, let him be rooted out with Fire and Sword. *And both the Clergy and People*

(r) *Walsh's* Irish Remonstrance, Treat. 4. p. 61.

ple of the Roman Communion in Ireland *generally hold the Popes Infallibility, being influenced by the* Jeſuits, *as they are in moſt places.* (s) *Inſomuch that in* MDCLXVI. *they refuſed to ſign the three laſt of the ſix Propoſitions which the* Sorbon *in* MDCLXIII. *had preſented to the moſt Chriſtian King, and to apply them as they did the firſt three, to his Majeſty of Great* Britain, *and his Subjects, though they contain nothing but an Aſſertion of the King's Prerogative, and a Denial of the Pope's Infallibility. This we are told by* One *who is an Advocate for Popiſh Loyalty, and it is confeſſed by* Another (t) *who made it the Buſineſs of his Life to write againſt the Depoſing Doctrine, that this is the Doctrine moſt generally received amongſt thoſe of that Communion.* [Neque quenquam movere debet, ut aliàs obſervavi, *(in Apol. num.* 4. 49. *uti citatur in margine,)* quod opinio hæc, quæ Summo Pontifici hanc poteſtatem tribuit, communionior ſit quàm oppoſita, pluréſque Doctores eam ſequantur, &c.] *So little ſecurity have we that Popery is the ſame thing in* France *that it is at* Rome *and in other Popiſh Countries, or that the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Expoſition is good Popery, even in* Paris *it ſelf. But that which is the Doctrine generally taught, we are often told by the* Guide, *is equivalent to the Definitions of a General Council, inaſmuch as no Council can be known to be general, nor conſequently to teach true Doctrine, but by the Reception it meets with from the Church, and ſo the* Miſrepreſenters *will be found to be thoſe that ſoften and palliate Popery, contrary to the ſenſe of the moſt of that Communion.*

I am ſure Cardinal Pole *and his Synod at* Lambeth, MDLVI. *were for Popery as it is at* Rome, *they did not content themſelves to fetch it from* France. *For they receive the* Bulla Cœnæ, (u) *equalling its Authority even to the Decrees of General Councils and Apoſtolical Traditions; and they profeſs to own the full extent of Power attributed to the Pope by the Council of* Florence, *and they quote it in the*

(s) Iriſh Remonſtrance, Treat. 3. p. 23. and Treat. 4. p. 58.

(t) *Widdrington* Diſcuſſ. Diſcuſſionis Præfat.

(u) Decr. 2.

the usual form, (x) Quemadmodum etiam in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum & in Sacris Canonibus continetur; *not,* Quemadmodum &, *&c. as we are now taught to read it according to the true Translation, if such a nicety will make any material difference; and this was done by Cardinal* Pole, *by virtue of his Legatine Power in a Provincial Synod.*

(x) Vid. *Walsh's Lett.* to the Bp. of *Linc.* p. 274.

However, the constant Appeal now is from the Sentiments of Private Men and particular Synods, to the Definitions of General Councils, which are appealed to with as much confidence, as if not one of them had ever been suspected or called in question, but all were of undoubted Authority, whereas there is indeed nothing more suspected, than the credit of most of them, and the chief Tenets of Popery will be found to have but little Authority from General Councils; The Worship of Images *will stand in great need of the second Council of* Nice; *and* Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, *&c. will want support from the fourth of the* Lateran; *and, in short, it will be almost as difficult to defend the Councils brought to authorize them, as to defend the Doctrines themselves. I think I have made it evident that this Argument from the Authority of Councils will be as unsuccessfull as all other Arguments have hitherto proved: for it is a vain thing to attempt by any means the Defence of a Cause which will not be defended.*

But in my Opinion the famous Mr. Schelstrate *has gone the fartheſt towards the finding out an Expedient which may be of equal force in all Controversies. For in the year* MDCLXXXV. *he put out a Book intituled,* Dissertatio Apologetica de Disciplina Arcani *against* Ernestus Tentzelius, *a* Lutheran *Divine, in defence of his Commentaries upon the second Canon of the Council of* Antioch. *In this Book he shews, that the Church concealed her Doctrines a long time, and that the stream of Tradition, like some Rivers, ran for a great way under ground, till at last it broke out*

and

and discovered it self in this Age *or that* Council. *If you* (y) *enquire why we read nothing of* Transubstantiation *in Ancient Authours. The Answer is very easie and ready;* Disciplina Arcani. *Why* (z) *the Fathers did not assert the Worship of Images?* Disciplina Arcani. *Why* (a) *we have no Accounts of the* Seven Sacraments *before the seventh Century?* Disciplina Arcani. *Why the Writings of St.* (b) Denys *the* Areopagite *lay so long concealed?* Disciplina Arcani. *And so for any Novelty else* Disciplina Arcani *still returns upon you, and it is so great a Charm, that some would be almost afraid of it, for it has a strange faculty of making every thing look* aged *that it can but come near. This* Disciplina Arcani *is an occult Quality to salve all Difficulties by, and say what you will, prove what you will, these two Emphatical Words shall bear down all before them. And, I am perswaded, the following Considerations will stand out against any Attack but that of* Disciplina Arcani.

(y) p. 150, 151.

(z) p. 124.

(a) p. 104, 105, 106.

(b) p. 120.

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All

All the Sheets of this ſecond Edition being wrought off before we could have the Reviſal of them from the Authour, the Reader is deſired to excuſe the number of the following alterations.

Preface, *p.* 9. *l.* 31. 132. *r.* 136.

Book, *p.* 2. *l.* 19. *dele* all. *p.* 4. *l.* 11. d *belongs to* Edition. *l.* 38. *r.* (for it is not in two other of his Editions.) *p.* 6. *l.* 26. prove *r.* ſecure. *p.* 12. *l.* 27. his *r.* its. *p.* 14. *l.* 28. ſecond *r.* fifth. *p.* 16. *l.* 14. *dele* of. *l.* 15. *the quotation referrs to* ſuch. *p.* 28. *l.* 22. *after* him *add* an Uſurper, a Tyrant and then. *p.* 31. *l.* 1. *r.* intolerable conſtraint. *p.* 39. *l.* 3. their *r.* the. *l.* 11. that *r.* the. *l.* 25. *r.* writer at leaſt, if not every. *p.* 42. *l.* 25,27. Innocent *r.* Alexander. *p.* 48. *the quot. of* Pachymeres *refers to l.* 36. *p.* 57. *l.* 16. yet *r.* and. *p.* 61. *l.* 28. *dele* Conſtantine after. *p.* 69. *l.* 28. they *r.* he.

P. 7. *l.* 28. ad Marg. *add* The ſentence againſt *Dioſcorus* in the *Greek* is Ὅθεν ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ μακαριώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μεγάλης καὶ πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Λέων, διὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἁγιωτάτης συνόδου, &c. *Act. Conc.* Calched. *Edit.* Labbé. *p.* 426. *Binius* in his Notes upon the Council, quotes the Sentence. thus; *Sanctiſſimus & Beatiſſimus Papa, Caput univerſalis Eccleſiæ*, Leo, *per nos Legatos ſuos, ſanctâ Synodo conſentiente.* ibid. *p.* 981.

P. 15. *l.* 25. *after* worſhip of them ſuffered, *add* This is related by moſt Hiſtorians as the caſting of Images out of all Churches, as it was indeed in effect; or elſe perhaps he firſt thruſt them into obſcure corners, and afterwards proceeded to remove them quite away.

An Hiſtorical EXAMINATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF *GENERAL COUNCILS.*

I Deſign two Things: Firſt, To ſhew the falſe dealing that has been uſed in putting forth the Councils. Secondly, To ſhew that Papiſts are not agreed in the Authority of them as they are put forth.

PART I.

The falſe dealing that has been uſed in putting forth the Councils; And this, 1. By putting forth thoſe that are wholly forged: 2. By ſuppreſſing thoſe that are genuine. 3. By depraving thoſe that are genuine, which they have not thought fit to ſuppreſs.

§ I. By putting forth thoſe that are forged. Of this number is the Synod pretended to have been held at *Antioch* by the A-

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postles, The eighth Canon whereof is produced for the Worship of Images; and the Council of *Sinuessa* brought by *Bellarmin* to prove the Pope above a General Council; which notwithstanding the improbability that three hundred and three Bishops [a] could meet together under *Diocletian*, and many other Inconsistencies, yet must stand upon record, as an authentick Council. The two Councils held at *Rome* under *Silvester* the First, brought to establish the Pope's Authority, and the last of them to warrant many other Points of Popery, as Chrism, the Cœlibacy of the Clergy, *&c.* Though they have been detected of manifest Forgery *, yet retain as good a Place in the Body of the Councils as ever; onely the last Canon of the second *Roman* Council was so palpable, that though it be very honourable for the Pope, yet *Labbé* could not but remark that *perhaps* it might be forged by *Isidore Mercator*; or at least, that the expression [*à Regibus*] was thrust in. To pass by the Acts of the Council of *Nice* and the eighty *Arabick* Canons, which some are willing to impose upon us for genuine, and quote them upon occasion; though *Baronius* confesses the Acts suppositious, and all Historians testifie that the *Nicene* Fathers made but twenty Canons: To pass by these and the early Fraud or inexcusable Mistake of putting the *Sardican* Canons into the number of the *Nicene*, to warrant the Right of Appeals to *Rome*, as well as the many Contests, about forged Acts, that have been between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which shall be enquired into when we come to the Case of *Photius*: To mention, I say, no more of this kind; The *Decretal* Epistles, which cannot be denyed to have been forged, and imposed upon the World by *Isidore Mercator*, yet have not lost their place among the Councils, but stand there, as if they expected some second *Turrianus* to defend them: for unless more credit were designed them by it than they deserve, 'tis unaccountable why they should be suffered to take up so much room, which might be better filled. I conclude this particular with the observation of *Richerius* [b] upon occasion of the Forgery of an Epistle from the Council of *Nice* to Pope *Silvester*, to desire his confirmation, "Indeed I am forced "to say with exceeding grief of mind, that "there are no Books, in which one may reade "so many and so egregiously counterfeit "and spurious writings, as may be read in the "Tomes of the Councils.

[a] *De Conc. lib. 2. c. 17.*

* *Vid.* Rob. Coci *Censuram quorundam Scriptorum vers. finem.*

[b] *Hist. Conc. Gen. l. 1. p. 36.*

Equidem cum maximo animi mœrore dicere cogor, nullos extare libros, in quibus tot tantáque fictitia & adulterina scripta quàm in Tomis Conciliorum legantur, &c.

§ II. By

§ II. By ſuppreſſing Councils that are genuine. The firſt and ſecond Councils of *Piſa* are omitted by all the Collectors of Councils before *Binius*, and the Acts of the ſecond Council of *Piſa* are omitted by him, the Publiſhers of the *Collectio Regia*, and by *Labbé* too; though the Council of *Conſtance* was but a Continuation of the firſt *Piſan* Council; and the ſecond being owned by the *French* in derogation to the laſt of the *Lateran* was publiſhed out of the *French* King's Library with the former, by the ſpecial privilege of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, *A.* MDCXII. And though *Labbé* thinks fit to excuſe the omiſſion by ſaying, that the Acts and Apology of this pretended Council [*Conciliabulum Piſanum*] were collected by Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, and publiſhed under a falſe name; and that *Lewis* the Twelfth, in MDXIII. called it onely a pretended Council, and denyed it all favour and aſſiſtance, yet the Royal Approbation of this Edition, and the *exact* agreement of *all* theſe Acts with the Acts of the ſame Council, as we find them in *Richerius*, is a ſufficient evidence againſt the imputation of Forgery; neither need they have been ſo very ſcrupulous upon this Head, who have themſelves inſerted into their Editions of the *Councils Canons* and *Synodical Reſcripts*, which they acknowledge to be ſpurious, but a Lye when it makes for them, ſhall paſs with a gentle Cenſure; whereas Truth, when it makes againſt them, ſhall be ſtifled, if any thing like an Excuſe can be brought to palliate their proceedings.

As to *Lewis* the Twelfth, there is this to be ſaid; That he was engaged in a War with *Julius* the Second, the *Venetians* and the *Spaniards* at the ſame time, and gained a memorable Victory at *Ravenna* over their united Forces; but the *Engliſh* ſetting upon him at home, he was forced notwithſtanding to give over in *Italy*, in MDXIII. and ſo 'tis not unlikely, that, to reconcile himſelf to the Pope, he might then ſend that meſſage; but it is manifeſt from the Acts themſelves and the Letters printed at the End of them, that from the beginning of the Council to that time, he could be no Friend either to the Pope or to his Council. The ſame Year *Julius* dyes, and *Leo* the Tenth ſucceeds. A Peace being concluded with *England*, and *Lewis* taking in Marriage *Mary*, Siſter to *Henry* the Eighth, he prepares for War again in *Italy*, but dyes in MDXV. From whence it evi-

dently appears which Council *Lewis* was most for, and for what Reason he disclaimed the Council of *Pisa*.

The Council of *Basil* is wholly left out in the *Roman* Edition as spurious, and was left out by Cardinal *Bellarmin*'s Advice, as *Richerius* was informed by those who were well acquainted with him: "Which exploit of "theirs thus ventured upon is *worthy* of the absolute Monarchy of the Court of *Rome*, who "are resolved to obtain that in *fact* which they "cannot defend in *right*. And it is remarkable that *Sirmondus* was the Publisher of this Edition; [d] a man so much suspected at *Rome* for too great Integrity, that he was not allowed free access to their MSS. In the first Draught of the Councils put out by *Labbé*, the Council of *Basil* was styled onely *Concilium* Basileense, whereas in *Binius* 'tis intituled, *Concilium OEcumenicum ex parte reprobatum*, though in the same Draught he gave the Title of *OEcumenical* to that of *Florence*, and to the last of the *Lateran*; but perhaps the Complaint that was then made of it by an Advocate of Parliament in a Book intituled, *The pernicious Consequences of the New Heresie of the* Jesuites, might give occasion to the alteration in the Title of the Council of *Basil*; for we have it now printed as it is in *Binius*. But, as that Authour observes [e], all means have been used to discredit the Council of *Basil*, insomuch that a List of the General Councils at the Beginning of the Epitome of the Canon-law, by *Antonius Augustinus*, has been falsified, by leaving out the Council of *Basil*, which that Learned Archbishop had inserted among the rest, as may be seen: for after these words, *Constantiense sub* Martino *quinto*, there follows in the falsified Editions, *Florentinum sub eodem*, which is ridiculous, the Council of *Florence* not having been held under *Martin* the Fifth: but it sufficiently shews how the uncorrupted Copies were, *viz.* after that of *Constance*, *Basileense sub Eugenio*, and then, *Florentinum sub eodem*. The *Concilium Delectorum Cardinalium*, which was preparatory to the Council of *Trent*, and may well be reckoned a part of it, yet could never be admitted among the Councils since *Crabbe*'s Edition, in MDLI. since it is not in two other of his Editions; though *William Crashaw* particularly complained of the omission in a

Quod inceptum facinus quidem est absolutâ dignum Monarchiâ Curiæ Romanæ, *cui propositum est, quod jure non potest, id viâ facti consequi*; Richer. *Hist. Conc. Gen. lib.* III. *c.* 7. *p.* 669.

[d] Coffart. *Præf. ad Conc.*

[e] New Heresie of the *Jesuites*, p. 140.

Concilium delectorum Cardinalium & aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. P. Paulo *Tertio ipso jubente, conscriptum & exhibitum, Anno,* MDXXXVIII.

in a printed Letter to *Binius*, and afterwards reprinted it himſelf, and it has been ſince publiſhed twice at *Paris*, once with the two Councils of *Piſa*, &c. MDCXII. and again lately with ſome pieces of *Clemangis*, *Durandus de modo celebrandi Concilii*, *&c.* But becauſe that Council too fully ſets forth what great neceſſity there was of a Reformation *in capite & membris*, it has been excluded all the Editions of Councils ſince *Crabbe*'s time.

Ad Severinum Binium *Lovanienſem Theologum Epiſtola Commonitoria ſuper Conciliorum Generalium Editione ab ipſo nuper adornata, &c. Londini*, MDCXXIV.

§ III. 1. By depraving the Councils which are Genuine. And here we have reaſon to ſuſpect much more than has hitherto been diſcover'd: for in the *Vatican* Library there have been certain men employ'd onely to tranſcribe Acts of the Councils and Copies of the Fathers works, and in tranſcribing to imitate the ancient Copies as near as is poſſible, as Dr. *James* of *Oxford* was informed by a Gentleman, who ſaw them at this work in the *Vatican*, and profer'd to make oath of it, if need was. It has been long ago obſerved, that the laſt Editions of the Councils are always the worſt, ſo that Dr. *Whitaker* made it his earneſt requeſt to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that there might be ſome order taken for the preſerving of *Crabbe*'s Edition, which he foreſaw would never be printed again: and Dr. *James* [f] ſhews that *Crabbe* himſelf is not without corruptions, which made him complain that no Proteſtant had put forth an Edition of the Councils, or ſet himſelf to rectify the Errours of Popiſh Editions; but he ſays Dr. *Ward* Maſter of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge* was then about it.

Tho. James Treat. of the Corrupt. of Script. *&c.* in Append. to the Reader.

[f] James *ibid.* p. 102.

2. 'Tis certain the *Indices Expurgatorii* reach MSS. as well as printed Books [g], and 'tis as certain [h] that the Inquiſitors of ſeveral places cannot agree among themſelves, but *Arias Montanus*, who was himſelf a chief Inquiſitour in the *Low-Countreys* had his own Books put into the *Roman Index*, ſo that no body can tell whither this expedient of Purgation may come at laſt, or how far it has already come: it is but mangling the old MSS. and then counterfeiting them in a new Tranſcription, and the MSS. will all ſpeak as they would have them. *Ludovicus Saurius* ſhewed *Junius* * what depravations he was to make in the Edition of St. *Ambroſe*, and aſſur'd him that it would be the worſt and moſt corrupt Edition of that Father. And we cannot wonder

[g] Poſſevin. *Bibliothec. lib.* 1. *c.* 12.

[h] James *Index Lib. Prohibit. à Pontificiis.*

* Jun. *Præf. ad Ind. Expurg.*

der if theſe practices had a great ſhare in the motives to the converſion of *Henricus Boxhornius* [i], who before was one of the principal Expurgators. For ſome time theſe *Indices Expurgatorii* [k] were a great Myſtery, and the *Engliſh* Papiſts would not believe, but it was ſome trick of *Beza*'s or *Junius*'s to diſgrace the Catholick Cauſe. [l] The *Index Expurgatorius* of *Antwerp* was by chance firſt diſcover'd by *Junius*, thoſe of *Spain* and *Portugal* were never known till the taking of *Cales*, and the *Roman Index* was procured not without much difficulty. After all theſe diſcoveries they could no longer complain of being miſrepreſented; though our *Engliſh* Papiſts were ſo backward in believing this part of Popery, that [m] *Craſhaw* was forced to be at the trouble of procuring two Editions of *Ferus* upon St. *John*, one that had undergone the *Index*, and another that was printed before the invention of *Indexes*, to convince them.

[i] *Com. de Euchar. Harm. lib. 3. in principio.*

[k] *W. Craſhaw*'s Romiſh. Forg. Pref.

[l] *James* Myſtery of the *Ind. Exp. p.* 22.

[m] Craſhaw, *ibid.*

3. Let us now ſee what exploits have been done by theſe Arts: The Diſcoveries of *Craſhaw*, and *Coke*, and *Reynolds*, but eſpecially of *James*, in this kind will never be forgotten, and ſo need no repeating, any farther than they concern the Councils, to which I ſhall confine my ſelf, and ſhew, that very material paſſages in them have been mangled or wholly omitted. 'Tis very well known what attempts have been made to give us various Readings of the ſixth Canon of *Nice* to prove the Pope's Supremacy, and that for the ſame reaſon the fifth Canon of the ſecond General Council, and the twenty eighth of *Chalcedon* have been rejected and branded as ſpurious. All the Editions of Councils bear *, that St. *Cyrill* did preſide in the Council of *Epheſus* as Pope *Celeſtine*'s Deputy, againſt the Authority of the Tranſlation of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, and the *Greek* Manuſcripts, as Dr. *James* witneſſeth. But this is not the onely forgery we meet withall in this Council. [a] For in the Epiſtle of *Celeſtine* to the Council, in the Edition of *Theodorus Peltanus*, it runs thus: "We have ſent *Arcadius* and *Projectus* Biſhops, and *Philip* a Presbyter to you, *&c.* who "having taken our care upon themſelves, "ſhall be preſent at every thing that's tranſacted,

* *James* Corrupt. of Script. *&c.* p. 91.

[a] Richer. *Hiſt. Conc. Gen. lib.* 1. *c.* 7. § 9.

Miſimus ad vos Arcadium *&* Projectum *Epiſcopos, &* Philippum *Presbyterum*, &c. *qui noſtra in ſe cura ſuſcepta, Aſtis veſtris intereruns, quaque à vobis ſunt conſtitu-*

" acted, and ſhall confirm your Decrees by " their ſuffrage, and we doubt not but your " Holineſs will admit them to give their " Votes, and to a common conſent; and let " whatſoever you ſhall decree be looked up- " on as definitions and decrees made for the " Peace of all the Churches. And with this Edition of *Peltanus* agrees that of *Antonius Contius*, though his be a different Verſion: whereas the *Roman* Edition has it thus: " We have in our ſo- " licitude [*for the Peace of the Church*] di- " rected our holy Brethren and fellow " Prieſts, *&c. Arcadius* and *Projectus*, &c. who " may be preſent, when every thing is " done, and who may execute thoſe things " which have been before decreed by us; " to whom we doubt not but your Holi- " neſs will give your Aſſent, ſince what is " doing ſeems to be decreed for the ſecurity " of the Univerſal Church. And according to the *Roman* Edition is the *Greek* of *Hieronymus Comelinus*, *Anno* MDXCI. and all the Editions of the Councils ever ſince the *Roman*. It is very pleaſant to obſerve that *Binius* in his Notes upon the Council of *Chalcedon*, quotes the Sentence againſt *Dioſcorus* to prove the Pope's Supremacy, and that it might be ſure to make for his purpoſe, he quotes it otherwiſe than it is printed in his own Edition, which though Mr. *Craſhaw* gave notice of it in his Letter to *Binius*, yet remains unalter'd ſtill in *Labbé*'s Edition. *Pithœus* finds fault with *Surius* for omitting the Acts of that Debate, which (after the fourth General Council of *Conſtantinople* was concluded and ſubſcribed) aroſe between the Eaſtern Patriarchs and the Pope's Legates concerning the Right of ordaining the Archbiſhop of *Bulgaria*: and if he had lived to this day, he would have made the ſame or greater complaints: For *Binius* and *Labbé* will ſcarce paſs for honeſter men than *Surius* in this or in any other caſe.

ta ſuo calculo denuò confirmabunt; non dubitamus autem quin ſanctitas veſtra illos ad communem conſenſum ſententiæque dictionem ſit admiſſura; quæ verò decreveritis, ea pro omnium Eccleſiarum tranquillitate habeantur definita decretáque. Epheſ. *Con. Act.* 2.

Direximus pro noſtra ſolicitudine ſanctos fratres & Conſacerdotes noſtros, &c. Arcadium *&* Projectum, *&c. qui iis quæ aguntur interſint, & quæ antea à nobis ſunt ſtatuta exequantur; quibus præſtandum à veſtra ſanctitate non dubitamus aſſenſum, quando id quod agitur videtur pro Univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſecuritate decretum.* Edit. Rom. *Part.* 2. *Act.* 3.

Cujus altercationis non contemnenda Acta à Laur. Surio *viro alioqui & diligentia & fidei multæ in poſtrema Conciliorum Editione prætermiſſa fuiſſe, non injuria mœreo & doleo: ſic enim ſentio, quod bonâ omnium veniâ dictum velim, Chriſtianam veritatem, quæ Deum autorem ac vindicem habet, ſuâ ſimplicitate contentam non indigere illis artibus, quæ nec in humanis quidem actionibus bonus vir ac probus facilè admiſerit.* Pithœus *De Proceſſ. Sp. Sancti*, p. 35.

4. But

4. But to come lower, where we may expect a more exact account of things. In the Council of *Baſil*, the famous * *Lindwood* made an Appeal upon account of the Temporalities of our Kings. The like Appeal was made by *Thomas* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſent thither in Commiſſion from the King, and by *Peter Partridge*, Chancellor of *Lincoln*, in the name of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and of the whole Clergy of the Land, all which is omitted by the Publiſhers of the Councils, and not put into the very laſt Edition, though Dr. *James* had taken notice of the omiſſion. I need not mention the Decree which *Caranza* has beſtowed upon the Council of *Florence*, to introduce the Apocrypha into the number of Canonical Books of Scripture, though he [f] is not the onely man that has made uſe of this Artifice, which they are now indeed aſhamed of, as men always are of Impoſtures, when they are once diſcovered; yet ſtill *Caranza* is the Authour readieſt at hand; and is as conſtant a ſupply for *Councils* as the *Breviaries* are for *Fathers*. But I ſhall wave all other Inſtances, and haſten to the Council of *Trent*, which gave the finiſhing hand to all the reſt, and is it ſelf no very eminent example of fair dealing. I take it to be no more an Inſtance of the Sincerity than of the Infallibility of that Council, that the *Tridentine* Fathers durſt not truſt the World with a view of their Acts; and all the accounts we have had from private hands have been very little for its credit: The Hiſtory of Cardinal *Palavicini* has juſtly been ſaid to be more prejudicial to the Council than that of Father *Paul*; for the latter onely ſhews how much is to be ſaid againſt it, whereas the former demonſtrates how little can be offered in its defence. But not to inſiſt upon this; who would ſuſpect that the little Book of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of *Trent* might not be allowed us entire? yet in the *French* Edition publiſhed at *Paris* MDLXIV. by *Gentianus Hervetus*, as ſoon as he came from the Council, and in the *Antwerp* Edition the ſame year, Cardinal *Morone*, the Pope's Legate, concludes the Council in theſe words, "It pleaſed all the Fathers that "an end ſhould be put to this ſacred Council, "and a Confirmation ſhould be begged from "the Pope, excepting onely three, who ſaid "they deſired no Confirmation: and therefore We, the Legates of the Apoſtolick "See, and the Preſidents of this Holy Council, "do

* James, *ibid.* p. 101.

[f] Coci *Cenſura*, *p.* 246.

Vid. Richer. *lib.* 4. *part.* 2. *Hiſt. Gen. Conc.*

Placuit omnibus Patribus finem huic ſacro Concilio imponi, confirmationémq; à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro peti, tribus duntaxat exceptis, qui confirmationem ſe non petere dixerunt: ideòque nos Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legati & Præſidentes eidem ſacro Concilio

"do put an end to it, and we ſhall beg a "Confirmation with all ſpeed from the "Pope; You therefore, moſt Illuſtrious "and Reverend Father, after you have "given God thanks, go in peace. But in the *Roman* Edition printed the ſame Year by *Manutius*, theſe Words, *Placuit omnibus Patribus*, &c. *tribus duntaxat exceptis*, &c. are left out; and after the Queſtion put to them by the Legate, Whether they would have Requeſt made to the Pope to confirm the Council? It is ſubjoyned, *Reſponderunt*, *Placet:* They all deſire it: And there is no mention of the leaſt diſſent: and preſently follows the diſmiſſion of the Fathers. And after this manner have all the Editions been printed ever ſince without the leaſt intimation, that one Biſhop demurred upon it. "Whence it appears, That "the Court of *Rome* is reſolved to daſh "out and ſuppreſs all thoſe Acts which "contradict their uſurped Rights, and "hence it is alſo, that many Spurious "things are read as Genuine, even in the "Ancient Councils. I need purſue this Subject no farther, nor ſeek for Inſtances to make good this Obſervation of *Richerius*, his Teſtimony may ſuffice inſtead of a thouſand Inſtances. Nor ſhall I make any advantage of the many other great Corruptions wherewith partly through Ignorance, partly with Deſign, the Monuments of Antiquity are defaced, as the Author of the Preface to *Paul* the Fifth's Edition of General Councils complains, who was *Sirmondus*, as (*i*) *Coſſartius* informs us: nor of the great alterations under that pretence made in innumerable places of the *Roman* Edition, which have been retained ever ſince, beſides the careleſneſs of the ſeveral Publiſhers that has made the beſt Editions extreamly uncorrect, which put *Baluzius* (*k*) upon a new Collection. And we have ſome better hopes of him, if his skill in the *Greek* Tongue qualifie him for ſuch a Work, notwithſtanding the ſharp Conteſt that has been between him and M. *Faget* concerning *Peter de Marca*'s poſthumous Works, or the undervaluing (*l*) Character lately given him by a Doctor of the *Sorbon*.

Finem imponimus: confirmationem vero quamprimum a ſanctiſſimo Domino noſtro petemus. Vos autem illuſtriſſimi & reverendiſſimi Patres, poſt gratias Deo actas, ite in pace. Vid. *Richerium*, lib. 4. part. 2. Hiſt. Gen. Conc.

Ex quo patet, Curiæ Romanæ *propoſitum eſſe omnia delere atque ſupprimere Acta, quæ juribus ſuis uſurpatis adverſantur, & hinc etiam fit, ut multa Apocrypha pro Veris legantur etiam in antiquis Conciliis.* Richer. *lb.*

(*i*) *Præf. ad Conc.*

(*k*) *Præf. ad Conc. Tom.* 1.

(*l*) Gerbais *de Caſis majoribus.*

PART. II.

§ I. PApiſts are not agreed in the Authority of Councils; I mean, they are not agreed what Councils are General, and what are not ſo. They differ as much about the Councils, as they do about the Notes of the Church. For as *Coſterus* aſſigns three, *Coccius* five, *Bellarmin* fifteen, *Bozius* an hundred Notes: ſo ſome aſſign more, ſome fewer General Councils, though the common computation proceeds no higher than to eighteen, of ſuch as are without exception. As the ſeventh and eighth General Councils were not a long time received into the *Profeſſions of Faith*, (which I ſhew in the ſeventh) ſo the number of Councils recited in thoſe *Profeſſions* not exceeding eight, (as is manifeſt by thoſe *Profeſſions* in the *Diurnus Romanus* publiſhed by *Garnerius*) ſhew, that eight only were looked upon as truly General, and the reſt not as of equal Authority. And as the form of the Profeſſion of Faith in the Council of *Conſtance* (Seſſion 39.) mentions but eleven General Councils in all, ſo it gives higher reſpect to the firſt eight than to the reſt, and takes no notice of any more than one of *Lateran*, and one of *Lyons*: *Ego* N. *electus in Papam omnipotenti Deo, cujus Eccleſiam ſuo præſidio regendam ſuſcipio, & beato* Petro *Apoſtolorum Principi, corde & ore profiteor, quam diu in hac fragili vita conſtitutus fuero, me firmiter credere & tenere ſanctam fidem Catholicam ſecundum Traditiones Apoſtolorum & aliorum ſanctorum Patrum, maxime autem ſanctorum octo Conciliorum generalium*, viz. *primi* Nicæni, *ſecundi* Conſtantinopolitani, *tertii* Epheſini, *quarti* Calchedonenſis, *quinti & ſexti* Conſtantinopolitanorum, *ſeptimi item* Nicæni, *octavi quoque* Conſtantinopolitani; *necnon* Lateranenſis, Lugdunenſis & Viennenſis, *Generalium etiam Conciliorum. Et illam fidem uſque ad unum apicem*, &c. Cardinal *Contarenus*, in his ſhort account of Councils, written to *Paul* the Third, and preſented to him on his calling the Council of *Trent* (or that of the delegated Cardinals in order to it, he being one of the number) reckons that for the eighth General Council, which depoſed *Photius*, and the Council of *Florence* for the ninth, not ſo much as naming any of the *Lateran* Councils but the laſt, and not eſteeming either this or that of *Lyons* under *Gregory* the Tenth, nor that of *Conſtance* or *Baſil* General, though he does name them (*m*). Cardinal *Pole*, with his Synod at *Lambeth* under *Paul* the Fourth *A. D.* MDLVI. calls the Council of *Florence*, the eighth

(*m*) Contarenus *Sum. Conc Edit. Venet.* MDLXII.

eighth General Council, though they own the fourth *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third for General; as they do likewiſe the fifth *Lateran* (*n*). They mention the fourth of the *Lateran* frequently, and never but under the Title of a General Council, and that of *Lyons* under *Gregory* the Tenth, they mention under the ſame Character (*o*). *Abraham Cretenſis*, the firſt Publiſher of the Council of *Florence* (*p*), gives it the Title of the eighth General Council, and ſo the Approbation of *Clement* the Seventh prefix'd to that Edition ſtyles it, ſo likewiſe *Crabbe* † accounts it, who profeſſeth to ſet down all the Councils General, and Prticular from P. *Agapetus* to P. *Eugenius* IV. So that this was the opinion of the Members of the Council, and of the firſt publiſhers of it, and of our *Engliſh* Clergy in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, whereas in the common account, (new ſtyle), the Council of *Florence* is the Sixteenth; *Merlin* gives us but eight General Councils, which are the firſt ſix with thoſe of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. In the Vatican Library as it now ſtands and was erected by *Sixtus Quintus*, *A. D.* MDLXXXVIII. where all the General Councils are repreſented in Painting with Inſcriptions to explain them, there are but two *Lateran* Councils, *viz.* Thoſe under *Alexander* the Third and *Innocent* the Third. (*q*) *Roccha*, in his Explications, reckons the Council of *Vienne* the fifteenth, and then proceeds to the Council of *Florence*, which he calls the eighteenth, as it is indeed computing the two intermediate Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, but *Sixtus Quintus* thought fit to take no notice of them in the *Vatican*, yet *Roccha* makes them up a full Score, though the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* be only ſuppoſed, not expreſſed in the number. So many differing accounts we have concerning the number of General Councils; to which may be added one more, by taking in the Council of *Arles*, as it ought to be in St. *Auguſtine*'s opinion, and in the opinion of *Launoy*, *Albaſpinæus*, *Marca*, *Labbe*, *Sirmondus* and others (*r*); in which Council the Biſhop of *Arles* preſided to examine the cauſe of the *Donatiſts*, which had been before determined by the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Synod; they confirmed the Judgment paſt at *Rome*, but would have as certainly nulled it, if the Sentence had been wrong. The two latter Editions of the Councils for a while continue the tale of them, and the laſt continues it longer than the Royal Edition does, but afterwards they break off, and ceaſe numbering, only giving us them as they come: which may be a farther evidence how little certainty and exactneſs there is in any thing that relates to a Ca-

(*n*) *Decret.* 2.

(*o*) *Decret.* 3.

(*p*) Launoy *Ep. part.* VII. *ad* Franciſcum Eonum.

† *Edit.* 1538. *Tom.* 11.

(*q*) Angelus Roccha *de Bibliotb. Vatican.* p. 200.

(*r*) Launoy *confirmat. diſſert. de vera plenarii Concilii ap.* Auguſtin. *notione*, p. 96.

talogue of General Councils. It seems then we are at last reduced to that notable Expedient which is said to have been in a late Preachment proposed about the Sacraments; *If we must have Councils, my Beloved, let us take the greatest number, and then we are sure to have all:* and so for the largest Bible, and the largest Creed, that we may be sure to have enough of whatever it be. But because *Bellarmin*'s number of Councils seems to be most in vogue, I shall consider his eighteen, which he assures us are all over Infallible, and fully approved, whereas there are half a dozen that have had the ill luck not to pass muster, though they are pretty tolerable in the main, and we must take part and leave part, as the Popes have thought fit; but there is a third sort so abominable, that they are utterly condemned.

The second Gen. Council at *Constantinop. circa A. D.* CCCLXXXI *secundum* Richer. *part* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 169.

(*s*) *Lib.* 2. *de Rom. Pontif. c.* 18.

(*t*) *In Diatribâ de Conc.* 6, & 7. *p.* 279.

(*u*) *In Summa Concil.*

§ II. I shall examine what agreement there is amongst Papists concerning the Authority of the several approved General Councils. And here we need not go far. The Second General Council it self (as was before observed) has not escaped: For *Baronius*, *An.* CCCLXXXI. says that the fifth Canon of that Council was not received by the Church of *Rome*, and he suspects it is forged. *Bellarmin* says it was not consented to by the Pope (*s*) and therefore void; so says *Albertus Pighius*(*t*), and *Coriolanus*(*u*). The four Reasons which *Baronius* brings to invalidate its Authority, *Binius* has transcribed into his Notes, which *Labbe* and *Cossartius* have printed in their Edition, without the least censure or animadversions; but in the margin, over against the Canon add a Note of their own, referring to some Epistles of *Leo*, which are quoted by *Baronius* to disprove his Authority. Now the only fault they can find with this Canon, is, that it makes the Bishop of *C. P.* next Primate to the Bishop of *Rome*, for this reason, because that City was New *Rome*, which would make the Pope's Power and Greatness depend upon the Preheminence that the City of *Rome* held in the Empire, not upon any Divine Right. And for no better reason they reject the twenty eighth Canon of *Chalcedon*, and would undoubtedly have rejected all the Canons of the first four General Councils, if they had stood in the way of the Pope's Authority. For the Fifth Canon of *C. P.* is in all Copies, and there is no more cause to suspect it than any other Canon of the Council. The twenty eighth of *Chalcedon*, with those that follow it, is wanting indeed in some Copies; but this as well as that of *C. P.* must be owned by all in the Church of

The fourth Gen. Council at *Chalced. circa A. D.* CCCCLI. Richer. *part* 1. *c.* 8. *p.* 333.

Rome

Rome that hold a Council above the Pope; for if the *major* part of the Church is of ſufficient Authority to make them ſo, theſe Canons are as authentick as any in all the Volumes of Councils.

† For the honour and juriſdiction of the Patrirach of *C. P.* is † Du Pin. *diſſert.* 1. *p.* 57. founded upon the Laws of the Empire, and the conſent of the univerſal Church, and theſe Canons have generally been ſo far owned, as to be inſerted into the Books of Canons.

The fifth General Council held at *C. P. An. Dom.* DLIII.

§ III. The Fifth General Council held under the Emperour *Juſtinian* about the middle of the Sixth Century, was oppoſed by Pope *Vigilius* (*x*) to the utmoſt, till he was forced to ſubmit and retract his Hereſie to recover himſelf from Baniſhment. From whence a *Query* will ariſe, How a Papiſt can be better aſſured that this Council is true, than that it is falſe? Or, Whether a Council can be firſt falſe, and then, without the leaſt alteration in its Doctrine, Infallible? Or, How long time a Pope's Sentence muſt be paſt before its Effect of Infallibility be produced? Whether one Pope may not retract another's Sentence, as well as the ſame Pope his own? And if ſo, Whether *Innocent* the Eleventh for inſtance, may not retract the Sentence of *Pius* the Fourth, and ſo vacate the Council of *Trent*?

(x) Baluz. *Nova Collect. Conc. Tom.* 1. *col.* 1546.

The ſixth Gen. Council held at *C. P. circa An. Dom.* DCLXXXI. *vel ut alii putant*, DCLXX

§ IV. *Albertus Fighius* wrote a Book (*y*) on purpoſe to prove the ſixth and ſeventh Councils both forged. The ſeventh was then newly publiſhed, but from what Copy or upon what Authority he ſays was unknown: *Franciſcus Turrianus* undertook their defence. *Bellarmin* is for compounding the buſineſs, and is inclined (*z*) to think that many Forgeries may indeed be crept in. *Binius* follows him, only he is more poſitive, as his manner is, to give us ſomething that is his own: *Labbe* and *Coſſartius* let his Notes paſs without cenſure. All the ſtir is, that the ſixth Council condemned Pope *Honorius* for a Heretick, and the ſeventh approves the Sentence, and ſeveral times anathematiſeth him; whom theſe Men would willingly acquit, tho there be as much evidence for it as can well be for any Matter of Fact. The Anathema againſt him was ſolemnly pronounced every year, till of late, on the Feſtival of St. *Leo* the Second; and every Pope anathematized him in the Profeſſion of Faith which he made at his Conſecration, and ſent it to the other Biſhops (*a*). The Arguments of *Baronius* to prove the ſixth Cougcil corrupted, are now laughed at (*b*); tho' F. *Combefis* (*c*) was violently treated

Richer. *Hiſt. Conc. Hiſt. Gen. p.* 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 525.

(y) *Diatriba de Conc.* 6, 7.

(z) *De Rom. Pontif. l.* 4. *c.* 11.

(a) Garnerii *Liber Diurnus in Profeſſione Fidei ſecunda diſſert. in eandem*; & Lauuoii *Epiſt. part* 5. *ep.* 2. *p.* 12. &c.

(b) Du Pin *diſſert.* 5. *p.* 350.

(c) New Hereſie of the Jeſuites, *p.* 91.

treated

by *Raynaud*, a Jesuite, not long ago in a malicious Satyr against the whole *Dominican* Order, only because he had exposed *Baronius* on this subject. But *Garnerius* endeavours to palliate the matter, by saying, He was condemned only for favouring Hereticks and conniving at them. *Natalis Alex.* formally proves(*d*)that he spake like a Heretick, and acted like a Heretick, and communicated with Hereticks; and yet at the same time proves he was no Heretick. So impossible it is for Popes to be Hereticks! For any other Bishop had certainly been an Heretick, though he had done but half so much. But *Du Pin* (*e*) has confuted all this Sophistry: and so 'tis to be hoped, that now these Councils may be genuine in *France*, where *Honorius* is an Heretick,or at least anathematized for a Favourer of Hereticks: but of what credit they are at *Rome* as to this point, is easie to be imagined. He will scarce pass for a true Catholick there, who had not rather part with two Councils than one Pope.

(d) *Sec.* 7.

(e) *Dissert.* 5. *p.* 349.

Synodus Quinisexta in Trullo, circiter An. Dom. DCLXXXI. *secundum* Labbe *in Tom. Conc.*

§ V. But here we must not omit the Dispute betwixt the *Greeks* and the *Latins* concerning the Council in *Trullo*, called *Synodus Quinisexta*, because it was a kind of Supplement to the fifth and sixth Councils. The *Greeks* maintain against the *Latins* that this *Council* was General, they alledge that the Pope's Legates were present, and subscribed its Canons, which the Pope himself indeed afterwards refused to do; but the Council styles it self General; and if want of the Pope's approbation could hinder it from being so, it was some time before the *Fifth* could deserve that Title, however it came by it at last: but the greatest fault of this Council in *Trullo* is,that it approves(*f*)and confirms the second Canon of *C. P.* and the twenty eighth of *Chalcedon*, in which the *Latins* are *mortally wounded*, as *Balsamon* observes. However the hundred and two Canons of this Synod are cited in the second Council of *Nice*(*g*). And *Adrian* the First, in his Epistle to *Tarasius* says, that he receives the sixth Council with all its Canons, by which he can mean no other but this; for the sixth, as it is distinguished from this, made no Canons. *Nicholas* the First, in an Epistle to *Michael* the *Greek* Emperour, says, that they were confirmed by Pope *John* the Seventh, at the request of *Justinian* the Second, whom that Pope commends there as a most holy Emperour; besides,*Gratian* attributes them to the sixth Council, and so does the Council of *Florence*(*h*). All which was so convincing to *Caranza*(*i*), that he sets them down as

(f) *Can. Trull.* 36. Καιρίως πληττόμενοι.

(g) *Act.* 4,5,6.

(h) *Sess.* 5.

(i) *Sum. Conc.*

as the Canons of the sixth General Council, and after him *Sylvius* chose rather to distinguish and refine upon the thirty sixth Canon, than to reject them all. *Angelus Roccha* (*k*) says plainly, it was a continuation of the former Synod, not a new one, since both were subscribed by the same Bishops, as he proves out of the Second Council of *Nice*.

(*k*) *Bibl. Vatic. p.* 71.

§ VI. 1. The second Council of *Nice*, which is the seventh General Council, is a Council they find themselves as much concerned to defend as any of them all, and have had as much trouble in defending it: unless this be General, the worship of Images is at a great loss for Authority from Antiquity, and yet to defend this Council is almost as difficult as to defend the worship of Images without it.

The second Council of *Nice*, *A. D.* DCCLXXXI. *vel* DCCLXXXVII. *secundum* Labbe.

2. *Gregory* the (*l*) Great is well known to have been against the worship of Images; but his Successours, not long after, were for promoting it what they could; so zealous they were in the Cause, that great Contentions arose between the *Iconoclastæ* and the *Iconolatræ*: for no wonder if some were moved to break those Images, which they could not but abhor to see others worship. These (*m*) heats grew to that heighth, that the Emperour *Leo* the Third forbad by his Edict the worship of Images, following herein the Example of two of his Predecessors and commanded them to be removed into less conspicuous places of the Churches, considering that the lawful use and ornament of Images might much better be spared than the worship of them suffered (*n*). *Gregory* II. upon this calls a Council at *Rome*, determines for Image-worship, and anathematizeth the Emperour; and moreover forbids that Taxes or Tribute should any longer be paid to him from *Rome* or any other part of *Italy*; in short, he denys obedience to him, and betakes himself to the *Franks*. *Leo Isaurus* being dead, his Son *Constantinus Copronymus* calls a Synod at *C. P.* in which the worship of Images is condemned in DCCLIV. In this state (*o*) things continued till about DCCLXXX. when the Empress *Irene* being left a Widow by the death of *Leo* the Fourth, with her young Son *Constantine* the Sixth, resolved

(*l*) *Lib.* 9. *Ep.* 9.

(*m*) Cedren. *Hist.* Zonar. *Annal.*

(*n*) Cedren. *p.* 453.

This some attribute to *Gregory* the third, who *Platina* says excommunicated and deposed *Leo*; *Hic statim ubi Pontificatum iniit, Cleri* Romani *consensu* Leonem *Tertium, Imperatorem* Constantinopol tanum *imperio simul & communione fidelium privat, quod sacras Imagines è sacris ædibus abrasisset, & Statuas demolitus esset, quodque etiam de* Homusio *malè sentiret.* Platina *in* Greg. *Tert.* So natural is it for every one to be made an Heretick, who withstands the Corruptions and Innovations of the Church of *Rome*.

(*o*) *Conc. Tom.* 7. *col.* 655.

reſolved to call another Synod at *C. P.* to null the late Council held there under *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, and to determine for the worſhip of Images: but the People and the Souldiery of the City would endure no ſuch thing, and they had moſt of their own Biſhops ſo far on their ſide as to inſtruct and encourage them againſt ſuch worſhip. The Citizens were not difficultly perſuaded to be conſtant in their old Profeſſion, which Edicts and Councils and their own Practice required them not to abandon, but they were led by too violent a Zeal to betake themſelves to a way not juſtifiable, and together with the Souldiers were immediately in an Uproar upon theſe Proceedings of the Empreſs. The Council was forced to adjourn to *Nice*, no fewer than three hundred and fifty Biſhops in number, and there they did the buſineſs of the following year: There were none (p) from the Weſt in it but the Pope's two Legates; and ſuch was the freedom uſed in their Debates, that the Biſhops who had been againſt Images, abjure in the beginning of the Council, and ſo are admitted to take their places in it. This happened DCCLXXXVII. as the laſt Editours compute it. *Adrian* the Firſt ſent his Legates thither, who brought a Copy of the Acts home with them ſigned by *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, thoſe the Pope procured to be turned into Latin (q), and put them into his own Library: They were not ſo confined there, but they ſoon cauſed no ſmall debate in the Weſtern Church. The Pope ſends them (r) to *Charles* the Great, to be examined and approved by him and his Biſhops. The Emperour oppoſed them, and either wrote himſelf againſt them, or however ſent a Confutation to *Adrian*, and cauſed it to be publiſhed by his Authority; whether this was written in the Council of *Franckford*, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* ſuppoſe, or after it, or before it, has been doubted. *Labbe* and *Coſſartius* place it in the ſame year with the Council of *Nice*, and *Adrian* (ſ) ſtiles it only a *Capitular*, without taking notice that a Counſil had any thing to do in it, which he would ſcarce have omitted of a Council in which his own Legates were preſent, and diſſented from the reſt of the Biſhops, as *Baronius* and *Bellarmin* imagine, or if they had agreed with them, yet this probably had been intimated either by the Emperour or the Pope. But that which puts this Controverſie beyond all diſpute is, that the Book it ſelf (t) informs us, that the Synod in *Bithynia*, againſt which it is written, was held not quite three years before, whereas the Council of *Frankford* was held ſeven years after that of *Nice*;

(p) *Con. Tom. 7. col.* 55.

(q) Anaſtaſ. *in Adrian I. p.* 172, 173.

(r) Hincmar. *Rhemenſ. ad Laudunenſ. cap.* 20.

(ſ) *Ep. ad Carolum M. pro Synodo Nicana II. Con. Vol.* 7.

(t) *Opus Carolinum, p.* 7.

Nice; ſo that the Book was writ about four years before the Council of *Frankford*. However this be, the Pope ſets himſelf to anſwer it from point to point, ann ſcorns to ſtick (*v*) at any thing: where that Council of *Nice* ſays, that as the People of *Iſrael* were healed by looking upon the Brazen Serpent, ſo we beholding the Images of Saints, ſhall be ſaved; he goes on to defend it at any rate, *for the ſatisfaction of Unbelievers, and the direction of the* Franks. His beſt Proof is a hearty Exclamation or two, "Do we believe that the People of *Iſrael* "were freed from the calamity that was "inflicted upon them, by looking upon "the brazen Serpent? and do we doubt "of Salvation, when we look upon and "worſhip the Images of Chriſt our God, "and the Saints? Strange indeed! this muſt needs raiſe ſtrong paſſions, eſpecially in his *Hony* Emperour, as he calls *Charles* the Great in his Epiſtle to him prefixt to his Defence of the Council: but his Arguments are not ſo powerful, all the Patheticks he could uſe, would not perſuade them to ſpeak one word to the purpoſe, as any one may diſcern that will but be at the pains to peruſe them. One *Baſilius* an Archbiſhop had, it ſeems, in a Profeſſion of Faith, which he read in the Council, inſerted after the Belief in the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, the kiſſing and adoring of Images and Relicks, adding, that he believed that Sanctification was partaken of from theſe, and leaving out in the mean time the Articles of Remiſſion of Sins, the Reſurrection of the Dead, and Life Everlaſting: The Pope reſolved to defend all (*w*), and not to ſtand out in the leaſt at any thing whatſoever, juſtifies *Baſilius*; that Sanctification may be had from Images and Relicks, and afterwards maintains (*x*) that a Man had better viſit all the Stews in the City, than refuſe to adore the Image of our Lord, or of the Bleſſed Virgin. But how ſtout a Champion ſoever the Pope was for the Council of *Nice*, the Emperour was not in the leaſt ſatisfied, he was for good Senſe, rather than *Hony words*, and therefore calls a Council at *Frankford* DCCXCIV. conſiſting of three hundred Biſhops, who determined ſo unanimouſly againſt the Council of *Nice*, that *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* think the *Opus Carolinum*, which *Adrian* endeavoured to anſwer, was drawn up there. The Pope had his Legates in the Council, but they were either brought to a conſent with the reſt of the Fathers, or however could get nothing by their Oppoſition, which

(*v*) *Pro Syn. Nic. II. in Actione 5. c. 26. p. 927.*

Ænei Serpentis inſpectione credimus Iſraëliticum populum à calamitate injecta liberari, Chriſti Dei noſtri & Sanctorum effigies aſpicientes atque venerantes dubitamus ſalvari?

Unde pro nimio amore, quem erga veſtram melliſluam gerimus Regalem Excellentiam---- unde pro veſtra melliſlua Regali dilectione.

(*w*) *Ibid. in Act. 1. cap. 4. Col. 942.*

(*x*) *Ibid. Act. 4. Col. 949.*

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which perhaps might be the leſs peremptory and pertinacious, and ſo the leſs regarded, becauſe the Emperour himſelf was preſent.

3. Thus we ſee that not only the Acts of the ſeventh General Council have lately been called in queſtion, but that the Council it ſelf was at firſt oppoſed by as General a Council held at *Frankford* ſoon after; and which is ſtrange, the ſame Pope's Legates were preſent at both, and the Pope himſelf ſent his Letters to both, and if we believe *Binius*, confirmed both. For he would perſuade us that the ſecond *Nicene* Council was confirmed, not condemned by this of *Frankford*: though nothing can be more plain, than that the ſecond Canon condemns the Worſhip of Images in contradiction to a *Greek* Synod, which had commanded it under pain of Anathema, and herewith agree all the (*y*) Ancient Writers, *Hincmarus*, *Aimoinus*, *Rhegino*, *Ado*, *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, beſides the Books, which go under the name of *Charles* the Great, purpoſely written againſt that Council of *Nice*, appear to have been written in the time of the Emperour, both from the Anſwer to them by *Adrian*, and from *Hincmar*'s Teſtimony. *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* could not reſiſt ſo ſtrong conviction, but were both forced to confeſs, that the Council of *Frankford* had condemned this of *Nice*, they were aſhamed to ſay bluntly, that either theſe Books were corrupted, or the Authors lied, this was too courſe for *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*, though *Copus*, *Surius* and *Sanders* made no ſcruple of it, and *Binius* (*z*) here leaves the two Cardinals, his uſual Guides, to follow theſe. But *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* were Men of more ſlight and fineneſs than to make uſe of ſo confident an Argument, they acknowledge that the Council of *Nice* was condemned at *Frankford*; but, ſay they, the Fathers of *Frankford* were impoſed upon, they knew not that the Pope had confirmed the Council of *Nice*, and beſides miſtook the ſenſe of that Council. *Sirmondus* (*a*) here falls in with *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*, well knowing that they had pitched upon the only thing that could with any tolerable colour be ſaid in the caſe: for he owns the Books of *Charles* the *Great*, and the Canons of *Frankford*, to be now generally accounted genuine beyond all diſpute among Learned Men. And thus much *Maimbourg*, and *Natalis Alex.* cannot deny, that they were written by that Emperour himſelf, or by his order.

(*y*) Bellarmin *de concilio lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. *p.* 886.

(*z*) *Vid. not. ad Concilium.*

(*a*) *Admonit. Conc. vol.* 7. *col.* 1054.

4. But firſt, what did the Legates do there, if they could not acquaint the Biſhops, that the Pope had approved the Synod of *Nice?*

Nice? How could they be ignorant of what the Pope had done on ſo important an occaſion, of what that Doctrine was, which he had confirmed? They were very extraordinary Men, and their Inſtructions were extraordinary, if they knew no better what they came about. Beſides the Author of the *Opus Carolinum* (*b*) ſuppoſes the Pope and *Taraſius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* agreed upon the point of Images. He was (*c*) not unacquainted with the diſtinction of the *Nicene* Council between the Worſhip due to Images, and that due to God himſelf, and he (*d*) frequently makes uſe of *Greek*, which ſhews he was no ſuch ſtranger to that Tongue, but that he might very well inform himſelf, as it appears he had done, what the *Nicene* Doctrine was, whether this Book was compoſed by *Alcuinus*, or by *Ingilramnus*, or by whomſoever elſe is not much material to my preſent purpoſe, but if it were writ in the Council of *Frankford*, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* think, or before it, (*e*) as appears from the *Book it ſelf*, or though it were writ afterwards, yet can it be ſuppoſed that all the Biſhops at *Frankford* with the Emperour, whoſe name this Work bears, ſhould be ſo great ſtrangers to the Doctrine of *Nice* ſo fully ſet forth and confuted in this Book? *Bellarmin* indeed ſays, the Book gives a wrong account of the Doctrine; but 'tis plain, he gives a wrong account of the Book: for it does as (*f*) accurately diſtinguiſh betwixt *Latria* and *Doulia*, as *Bellarmin* himſelf, and then proves that neither of them may be given to Images. That the Council of *Frankford* could be ignorant of the Doctrine eſtabliſhed at *Nice* can ſeem probable to no Man, who conſiders, that the Pope had cauſed the Canons of *Nice* to be tranſlated into *Latin*, that his Legates were preſent at *Frankford*, and that they refuſed to conſent to the Decree of that Council, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* affirm. To imply that the Biſhops at *Frankford* did not underſtand *Greek*, might paſs well enough from *Sirmondus*, but might have been ſpared by Men of no greater accuracy in that Tongue than the two *Cardinals*: if not one among them all were ſkilled in the *Greek*, yet why could they not read the Tranſlation? Why could they not conſult the Legates? The Cardinals perhaps might be ſenſible enough how liable Men are to Miſtakes for want of a little *Greek*, and *Anaſtaſius* (*a*) ſays, the Tranſlation was very perplext, and hardly intelligible, but I can never be perſuaded that the Legates would ſtand by and deny their conſent, and yet not endeavour to undeceive the Council, and at leaſt adviſe them to

(*b*) *Pag.* 180.

(*c*) *Pag.* 88.

(*d*) *P.* 257, 258, 275, 293, 401.

(*e*) *P.* 7.

(*f*) *P.* 88.

(*a*) *Præf. in ſeptim. Synod. Concil. Tom.* 7. *Col.* 29.

ſend to *Rome*, for Inſtructors. Pope *Adrian* wrote himſelf in defence of the Synod of *Nice*, which he had confirmed, and ſo muſt be allowed to underſtand it, and *Greek* could then be no very ſtrange Language at *Rome*, nor conſequently at *Frankford* neither among three hundred Biſhops gathered together from all parts of the Weſt, when the Pope had ſo lately renounced his Allegiance to the *Greek* Emperour, and yet ſtill a correſpondence was held between *Rome* and *C. P.* by *Adrian* with *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, and *Taraſius* (*b*), as appears by their Letters.

(*b*) *Concil. Tom.* 7.

5. But 'tis in vain to argue from probabilities, if the Canon it ſelf, as is pretended, be grounded upon a miſtake. "The Queſtion about the new Synod of the "*Greeks* which was held at *C. P.* about Worſhipping of Images, "was then ſtarted; in which it was "ſaid to be written that whoſoever did not pay that Service or "Adoration to the Images of the Saints, which he did to the "B. Trinity ſhould be anathematized: whereupon our moſt Holy "Fathers *by all means* refuſing to offer any manner of prayer or "ſervice to them, deſpiſed and unanimouſly condemned it. Here is firſt *C. P.* miſtaken for *Nice*, and then it is ſaid that the ſame Worſhip is under Anathema commanded to be given to Images, which is given to the bleſſed Trinity. *Sirmondus* (*c*) is ſo ingenuous as to propoſe a way of reconciling the firſt miſtake of *C. P.* for *Nice* by ſuppoſing that the Synod is ſaid to have been at *C. P.* not that it was held in that City, but becauſe it was in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, and at the command of the *Greek* Emperour *Conſtantine* and his Mother *Irene*. This, I muſt confeſs, ſeems to me ſtrained; but it were yet a greater force upon the imagination to be told, that *Charles* the Great with three hundred Biſhops met together to condemn the Worſhip of Images, decreed in a General Council about ſeven years before, ſhould yet not be certified where this Decree was made, nor be able to diſtinguiſh *Nice* from *C. P.* and that the ſame Pope ſhould ſend his Legates to both Synods, and yet give them no better inſtructions than to ſuffer them to be ignorant in ſo late a matter of Fact, which muſt be known all over *Europe*. For when the Worſhip of Images which had undergone ſo much debate, and had been the cauſe

Allata eſt in medium quæſtio de nova Græcorum Synodo, quam de adorandis Imaginibus Conſtantinopoli *fecerunt, in qua ſcriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus ſanctorum ita ut Deifiæ Trinitati ſervitium, aut adorationem non impenderet, anathema judicaretur; qui ſupra ſanctiſſimi Patres noſtri omnimodis orationem aut ſervitutem eis impendere renuentes, contempſerunt atque conſentientes condemnaverunt.*

(*c*) *Not. in Concil.* Francoford. *Conc. vol.* 7. *col.* 1066.

cauſe of ſo great Troubles, and occaſioned the calling divers Councils, but had never the good luck to ſucceed, was at laſt in a General Council enjoyned under Anathema: and when the Popes Legates at their coming from the Council brought a Copy of it ſubſcribed by *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, which the ſame Pope that now ſent his Legates to *Frankford*, commanded to be tranſlated into *Latin*, and placed in his Library: when the Pope himſelf had anſwered the objections propos'd by the Emperour againſt this very Council of *Nice*, who can conceive that the whole Tranſaction ſhould not be noiſed abroad and talked of in all places, and among all perſons, and in all its circumſtances ſo exactly known, that it would have been impoſſible to have picked out three hundred Men of any tolerable rank and converſation, who could be ignorant, that the General Council of *Nice* had at length decided the vexatious controverſie about Images? If its judgment had been acquieſced in as infallible, or but of ſufficient Authority to enforce any ſubmiſſion upon the conſcience, it certainly had been taken more notice of, than to be unknown to any man of ordinary obſervation in its leſs material circumſtances of time, and place, and number of Biſhops; the Doctrine however had been taught and practiſed every where among all ſorts of People, or, if it had been rejected by ſome, yet theſe would have found themſelves obliged to give an account, why they rejected it, and ſo to enquire thorowly into it: but to ſuppoſe ſo many Weſtern Biſhops, with the Pope's Legates among the reſt, and the Emperour himſelf in the midſt of them, ſo groſly and even ſtupidly ignorant, as to know neither the Doctrine it ſelf, nor the place where the Synod was held but ſeven years before, is to caſt too great a blemiſh upon the Weſtern Church, and would be apt to make men ſuſpect, that the Weſtern Clergy at that time could make no pretence to the leaſt ſhare of infallibility either in a Council or out of it. The Emperour's Book mentions the *Greek* Council as held in *Bithynia*, and it were extreme weakneſs to imagine, that *Charles* the Great, after he had been at the pains to write a Book upon the ſubject, or had ordered one to be written, had not intelligence good enough to ſet the Synod right in the circumſtance of place at leaſt, if any will be ſo free with him, as to ſay he was raſh enough to oppoſe he knew not what.

6. But

6. But to free that wiſe and great Emperour, and the whole *Weſtern* Church from ſo ſtupid an abſurdity: it can be no wonder, that the Decree concerning Image-worſhip ſhould be related in the Council of *Frankford* as made at *C. P.* to him, who remembers that the firſt meeting of the *Nicene* Fathers was at *C. P.* and that there firſt they began to Anathematize thoſe, who were againſt the worſhip of Images, but finding *C. P.* too hot for them were forced to remove to *Nice*. And this may give a farther account, why the Doctrine condemned in the Canon of *Frankford* doth not ſo exactly agree with the definition made at *Nice*, where it is probable they might think fit to be more moderate and cautious in their expreſſions, after they had experience how ill the Doctrine of Image-worſhip was thought of at *C. P.* and with how great difficulty it was like upon any terms to be received. The Council of *Frankford* might be content to uſe the like moderation and not directly to oppoſe that Council in the face of his Legates, which had after a ſort been defended by the Pope himſelf, ſince it was ſufficient in the end of the Canon to add ſuch a clauſe as excludes all worſhip of Images whatſoever: *Qui ſupra ſanctiſſimi Patres noſtri omnimodis orationem aut ſervitutem eis impendere renuentes contempſerunt atque conſentientes condemnarunt*: They might not be unwilling to ſpare the name of a Council that had gone before them in condemning the Hereſie of *Felix*, and *Elipandus*, and after the diſpute between the Emperour and the Pope, the Emperour might perhaps think fit to try this expedient for an Accommodation of a thing that had been of ſo ill conſequence, and ſo might give order to omit the mention of *Nice*, and not to engage the Pope's Legates at *Frankford* to condemn the ſame Popes Legates at *Nice*, but nevertheleſs to have the thing it ſelf condemned as effectually, as if all the Fathers of *Nice* had been particularly named. For it is obſerved that *Charles* the Great and his Son *Lewis* after him had a particular care to give the Popes good words, and to keep fair with them, when they moſt withſtood their deſigns; and thus *Lewis* carried it in this very caſe of Images, when the worſhip of them was condemned in the Council of *Paris*. This is the account, which to me ſeems moſt probable, but however that the *Nicene* Council was condemned, not onely at *Frankford*, but generally in the *Weſt*, and ſhortly after in the *Eaſt* too, is as clear as the light, *Maimbourg* and *Natalis Alex.* are ſo hard put to it, after all their endeavours

vours to palliate and reconcile these two Councils, that they are forced to pretend that *Charles* the Great was enraged at *Constantine* the *Greek* Emperour, because he refused to marry his Sister, and so in revenge called this Council at *Frankford* in opposition to *Constantine*'s Council at *Nice*, and the Images and Image-worshippers, it seems, suffered all the hard names and bad usage at *Frankford*, because *Constantine* loved Images better than the Lady. An honourable revenge, for *Charles* the Great to vent his spleen upon the poor Images, which, I suppose, were all against the Match. But the captious and frivolous cavils of those two Writers, are particularly and fully answered by *Spanhemius* (*a*), and are not much material to be here considered.

(*a*) *Hist. Imag. Sect.* 6. & 7.

7. 'Tis certain the Council of *Nice* had been before condemned in *Britain* (*b*), and *Alcuinus* had written against it, and in the name of the Princes and Bishops had sent a Censure of it to the Emperour, together with the Acts of the Council, which the Emperour had before sent into *Britain*, and this probably was the first Draught of the *Opus Carolinum*, which *Adrian* replied to. A Synod at *Paris* owned by *Sirmondus* (*c*) and *Mabillon*, notwithstanding *Bellarmin*'s pretended Confutation, condemned Image-worship and the Second Council of *Nice*, with the two Epistles of *Adrian*, one to *Charles* the Great, in defence of it, and another to *Constantine* and *Irene* to persuade them to call it. *Adrian* wrote his Defence for the *direction of the Franks*, and *Anastasius* (*d*) informs us, that the *French* were not reconciled to this Council, nor to the Worship of Images in his time, and not only *Mabillon* but *Bellarmin* (*e*) himself confesses, that *Jonas Aurelianensis*, *Agobardus*, and generally the *French* Writers of that age were against the Worship of Images, and condemned the Council of *Nice*, which likewise had been done in the beginning of the Century in DCCCXIV. in a Council at *C. P.* called by *Leo Armenius*: yet the Embassadours from the *Greek* Emperours to *Lewis le Debonnaire* in DCCCXXIV. complain of the horrible abuses that were then got into that Church, that the *Greeks* had thrown down Crosses in their Churches, and set up Images in their room, that they lighted Candles before them, and offered Incense to them, that they adored them with singing Hymns to them, and asking help of them, and by a most ridiculous Superstition made them Godmothers to their Children, and that some Priests had dared to do what cannot be mentioned without horrour, they scraped off the paint from

(*b*) Mabillon *Præf. ad Acta Sanctorum Benedict. part* 1. *sect.* 4. *p.* 15.

(*c*) *Tom. Concil.* 7. Mabillon *ibid.*

(*d*) *Præf. ad Synod.* VII.

(*e*) Bellarmin *Script. Eccl. in* Jonas Aurelianens. Mabillon *ib. p.* 16.

from Images and mingled it with the Wine at the Sacrament, and had been guilty of other ſuch like abuſes: others put the Sacramental Bread into the hands of Images, and from them received the Communion, and others forſook the Churches, and in private Houſes made uſe of Tables ſet before Images to conſecrate the Sacrament upon. It was on this (*a*) occaſion, that *Lewis le Debonnaire* called the Council above-mentioned at *Paris*, wherein a Book was compiled to ſhew, that Images are not at all to be worſhipped, which he ſent to the Pope, but with order to mitigate ſome Paſſages, and to manage the Controverſie ſo dextrouſly, as to give leaſt offence to his Holineſs. Theſe proceedings had ſuch ſucceſs, that *Nicholas* the Firſt in his Council held at *Rome*, and in the relation he gives of it to *Michael* the Emperour, and *Adrian* the Second in his Epiſtle to *Carolus Calvus* mention but ſix General Councils, the ſeventh not being then received into the number, not becauſe it was not yet turned into *good Latin*, as the (*b*) Annotator would perſuade us, but becauſe it was not thought to contain *ſound Doctrine:* for ſince it was confirmed by the Pope, what prejudice could that be to the reception, though it had been in a Tongue as unknown to the Prieſts, as that which their Prayers are in, is to the People? When *Ado* Archbiſhop of *Vienne* in the Profeſſion of Faith, which upon his promotion to that See, he ſent to *Nicholas* the Firſt, declared that he approved the four General Councils, making no mention of the reſt, *Nicholas* notwithſtanding ſends him the Pall, but withal writes to know what he thought of the Fifth and ſixth Councils, not requiring him to ſay (*c*) any thing of the ſeventh. And indeed all the Patriarchs of the *Eaſt*, except the Patriarch of *C. P.* uſed to make mention, in their Synodical Epiſtles, but of ſix General Councils, as the *Encyclica* of *Photius* ſhews, and as *Baronius* (*d*), who firſt publiſhed it, does not gainſay. Which made the Author of the (*e*) *Annales Berliniani* obſerve, that the Eighth Synod had defined concerning Images, contrary to what the Orthodox had defined before. For the Controverſie about Images was again under debate at *C. P.* when *Nicholas* the Firſt (*f*) ſent his Legate thither, and their chief buſineſs was to decide it, for they were to act nothing in the cauſe of *Photius*, but only to enquire how things had been managed. Afterwards under *Adrian* the Second, DCCCLXX. while the eighth General Council was ſitting, there appears to have been another Synod oppoſing the Worſhip of Images,

(*a*) Mabillon *ib. p.* 15. 24.

(*b*) *Vid. Conc. vol.* 8. *p.* 287. 774.

(*c*) Mabillon *ibid. p.* 27.

(*d*) *Tom.* 10. *ad Annum* DCCCLXIII *p.* 247.

(*e*) Mabillon *ibid. p.* 27.

(*f*) Nichol. *l. Epiſt. Conc. vol.* 8.

mages, which they anathematize; and it was one part of their businesse to establish that worship *. So that this Council of *Nice* was received neither in the East nor in the West, during one Century after it was held. Sir *R. Twisden* (*a*) proves that it was not received here in *England* in the year 1268. Nay, it has been lately shewn that till the fifteenth Century the veneration of Images was rejected by the most eminent persons of the Western Church (*g*). Afterwards Images and the Council of *Nice* had a blessed time of it, and the People grew fond of these which they call *Laymens Books*, when their Priests could scarce read any other. And though it may well be expected, that the extravagance of this dotage should be much abated since the Reformation, especially in *France*, where Popery is new modelled and refined to that degree; yet even there sober men complain and lament, but cannot remedy the excess of it in our days †.

* Τὴν εἰκονομαχικὴν συνοδικὴν καὶ τὴν σταυρολατρικὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν.

(*a*) *Hist. vin. c.* 9. *n.* 17. *p.* 185.

(*g*) Fallibility of the Church of *Rome* demonstrated from the second Council of *Nice*, *c.* 4. *sess.* 6.

† Mabil. *ib. p.* 28. & Richer. *Hist. Gen. Con. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *sect.* 13.

§ VII. 1. There are no fewer than four Councils which lay claim to the title of the eighth General Council, and the Pope was present either in person or by his Legates in them all. Three of these were held at *C. P.* The first DCCCLXI. in which *Ignatius* Patriarch of *C. P.* was deposed; the next DCCCLXX. in which he was restored, and *Photius* deposed; the third DCCCLXXIX. when, after the death of *Ignatius*, *Photius* was again placed in that See. The Fourth,* which goes under the name of the eighth General Council, is that of *Florence*, of which I shall forbear to speak till we come to it in order.

The eighth Gen. Council, or the fourth C. of *C. P. An.* DCCCLXX. The dates of these 3 Councils are according to *Labbe's* Edition.

* *Vid. not. ad Conc.* C. P. IV. *c.* 1491. *Conc. vol.* VIII.

2. The Council of *C. P.* which condemned *Photius* is esteemed the eighth General Council by the *Latins* generally, and that which restored him, by the *Greeks*, by *Zonaras*, *Balsamon*, *Pselus*, *Nilus*, &c. *Marcus Ephesius* (*h*) in the Council of *Florence* maintains in the name of the whole *Greek* Church, that the Council of *C. P.* which restored *Photius* had nulled the Council, which the *Latins* call'd the eighth General Council, in which *Ignatius* was restored and *Photius* deposed, and that this Council was confirmed by *John* the Eighth; and that in the same Synod it was determined, that the addition of *Filioque* should be taken out of the Creed, and therefore from that time, in the Great Church at *C. P.* they used, he says, to denounce Anathema to whatever had been written or spoken against the holy Patriarchs *Photius* and *Ignatius*. To this the Cardinal

(*h*) *Sess* VI. *in principio.*

Ἀπὸ τότε γὰρ μάχονται τοῦ ἀναθεματίσαι ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸν Ἀπόστολα τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πατρὶ ἡμῶν φωτίῳ καὶ Ἰγνατίῳ γεγραμμένα, ἢ λαληθέντα, ἀνάθεμα. Marc. Ephes. *in Conc. Flor. Sess.* 6. *col.* 87. *Conc. vol.* 13.

dinal *Julian*, with whom *Marcus Ephesius* had the Dispute, could find nothing to reply, for which he is very much blamed by another Cardinal, *who never was at such a loss, but he always had something to say*; I mean *Baronius*. 'Tis plain the Bishop of *Rhodes*, who in the next Session undertook to answer *Marcus Ephesius*, knew very little of the matter; for he pretends to speak onely upon Probabilities; " I say that this does not by any means " seem probable. He objects, that the Pope nor his Legates did not preside in *Photius*'s Council, as if the *Greeks* had ever thought that necessary; he makes no exceptions against any particulars in the Acts of the Synod, as not authentick, but would prove in general, that there never was such a Synod, because the Pope nor his Legates did not preside in it; " for if they had, (argues he) there would " have been without all question some re- " membrance of that Synod in the *Latin* " Church: whereas the *Epistles* and *Commonitorium* of *John* the Eighth shew that there was such a Synod, and that his Legates did preside in it; and *Baronius* proves, that his Legates for their compliance were excommunicated at their return to *Rome*.

Λέγω ὅτι τοῦτο παντάπασι φαίνεται οὐκ εὔλογον.

Εἰδ' ἦν τοῦτο, ὁμολογουμένως ἂν ἦν καὶ περὶ τοῖς Λατίνοις μνήμη τῆς περὶ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης. *Ib. col.* 127.

3. Nor is it a pretence of the *Greeks* only, that this, styled the fourth Council of *C.P.* wherein *Photius* was condemned, is vacated: but the Epistles of Pope *John* the Eighth to this very purpose are cited by *Ivo Carnutensis* (*i*) in his Collection of Decrees. " That " the *Constantinopolitan* Synod which was made " against *Photius* is not to be received. *John* the " Eighth to *Photinus* the Patriarch; We have " vacated and entirely abolished the *Constan-* " *tinopolitan* Synod which was made against " *Photius*, as well for other reasons, as because " Pope *Adrian* did not subscribe in it. Of " the same thing, *John* to his Legates, Ye " shall say, that we vacate and dash out of " the number of the holy Synods, those " Synods which were held against *Photius* " at *Rome* under Pope *Adrian*, or at *Constan-* " *tinople*. The same Author, in his Prologue or Preface, quotes another of Pope *John*'s Epistles at large written to the Eastern Emperours, wherein he tells them that they had been too hasty in restoring *Photius* without his knowledge:

(*i*) *Part.* 4. *cap.* 76, 77.

Constantinopolitanam *Synodum eam, quæ contra* Photium *facta est, non esse recipiendam.* Joannes VIII. *Patriarchæ* Photino; *Illam, quæ contra* Photium *facta est*, Constantinopolitanam *Synodum irritam fecimus, & omnino delevimus, tum propter alia, tum quoniam* Adrianus *Papa non subscripsit in ea. De eodem* Joannes *Apocrisiariis suis, Dicetis, quod illas Synodos, quæ contra* Photium *sub* Adriano *Papa* Romæ *vel* Constantinopoli *sunt factæ, cassamus, & de numero sanctarum Synodorum delemus.*

knowledge: but for all that, he was well enough contented, and brings ſeveral arguments to ſhew that *Photius* might be reſtored, notwithſtanding any ſentence which had paſſed upon him. He there compares *Photius*'s caſe not with that of the *Donatiſts*, but of St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Cyril* and *Polychronius*; of St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Flævianus*; and then concludes, that if the *Donatiſts*, who had been caſt out of the Church by a General Council, had yet been received into Communion by another Council, much more ought men of an *orthodox Faith* and an *unblamable life* not to be contemned, but reſtored to their former dignity; which muſt ſuppoſe *Photius* to be a man of an *orthodox Faith* and an *unblameable Life*; or elſe we muſt ſuppoſe his Argument nothing to the purpoſe. But he proceeds to ſay, that his Predeceſſours *Nicholas* and *Adrian* had been impoſed upon, and that all that had been done againſt *Photius* was to be accounted as if it had been never done. Nor doth this depend upon *Ivo*'s Authority onely, but the ſecond Canon of the Council which reſtored *Photius* is inſerted by *Gratian* as a Canon of the eighth General Council, for which he is ſeverely handled by *Baronius*, though others of the *Roman* (*k*) Communion have been wavering as to this matter, and have written uncertainly and confuſedly about it; and *Innocent* the Third (*l*) himſelf quotes the ſame ſecond Canon in his Epiſtles.

Nullus excuſet pro Synodâ contra eum peractâ, nullus ſanctorum Prædeceſſorum meorum Nicolai & Adriani *ſententias contra eum cauſetur: De ipſo enim ſubreptum eſt illis, nullus contra eum ſubſcriptiones veſtras occaſionem Schiſmatis habeat: omnia enim ut infecta & irrita facimus*, &c. Ivo Carnut. *Prolog. p.* 5.

(*k*) Rader. *apud* Binium *Conc. Vol.* 8. *Col.* 1496.

(*l*) *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 9. *c.* 11.

4. *Baronius* notwithſtanding, *Raderus* and *Poſſevin*, whoſe Argument *Binius* has collected in his Notes, and generally the whole *Roman* Church are for maintaining the Authority of this fourth Council of *C. P.* and this is the laſt of the eight General Councils which every Pope is ſworn to at his Conſecration (*m*). They argue that the Acts of that Council which reſtored *Photius* are corrupted, which is a ſure Argument, when there is nothing elſe to ſay: Well, but they prove it from *John*'s Epiſtles, which are quite another thing in the *Vatican* MS. than they are in theſe *Acts*: but how does it appear that theſe *Epiſtles* are more authentick than the *Acts*? why, becauſe theſe have been abuſed by *Photius*; and how does that appear? becauſe *Photius* was a Villain: as he was indeed one of the greateſt Monſters of impiety that ever lived, if all be true that his Enemies relate of him. (*n*) They ſay that his Mother, when ſhe went with child of him, dreamt that ſhe ſhould bring forth a Serpent, which with his noiſome Breath ſhould

(*m*) *Vid.* II. *Profeſſ. fid. apud* Garnerium, *in Diurno.*

(*n*) Leo Allatius *de* VIII. *Synodo* Photiana, *p.* 92.

should infect the whole East; and many holy men foretold the same thing in plainer language to her, that she should be delivered of one who would be the ruine of the Church: this troubled her so much that she often endeavoured to destroy her self, rather than that such a Brat should ever be born into the World: but her Husband prevented the design; and she was at last persuaded by devout People about her to submit to the Providence of God: so she was prevailed with to live, and to her great sorrow, was Mother of a Son who outwent all these Prophecies. For the *Legend* must not end here: He was an *Impostour* and *used Enchantments*, he got *Ignatius* removed out of his Patriarchate, and himself placed in his room; he bad defiance to Popes; and when they excommunicated him, to be even with them, he excommunicated them again; when they deposed him, he deposed them, and never was behind-hand with them in any kind offices, and this is thought to have been his greatest crime: though besides, (*n*) he held that a man has two souls, *while his enemies acted as if they thought men to have none.* The Popes, it seems, had every one a touch at him in their turn, for he was condemned by nine Popes, and was under Excommunication XLV. years (*o*), which is somewhat longer, I think, than F. *Widrington or* F. *Walsh.* All this to be sure made him an abominable Schismatick (*p*), a Fornicator, a Parricide, a notorious Liar, another *Maximus* (*q*) *Cynicus*, another *Dioscorus*, another *Judas*; *Antichrist* (*r*). To speak all in a word, he was a very Devil.

(*n*) Bin. *Not. ad Conc.* IV. C. P. ex Possevin. Rader. *&c. Col* 1498, *&c.*

(*o*) *Conc. Tom.* 8. *col.* 1423.

(*p*) *Ibid. Col.* 1108.

(*q*) *Ibid. Col.* 1098.

(*r*) Anastas. *Præf. ibid. col.* 967.

5. After this heavy charge, what wickedness can be imagined that will not be believed of *Photius?* 'Tis none of my business at present to make his Defence, which would be now the more difficult to be done, because all (*ſ*) the Acts and Writings for his Justification were sought out and burnt in this fourth Council of *C. P.* 'Tis sufficient for me to observe that Pope *Nicholas* at first interposed as an Indifferent Arbitrator between him and *Ignatius*, which sure he would never have done, if *Photius* had been guilty of so notorious Crimes: he was mainly concerned that himself had not been consulted; as for any thing else, 'tis not easie to observe which side he most inclined to. He writes to *Photius*, and tells him, he is glad to understand, that he is orthodox, but is sorry he should from a Laick immediately become a Bishop without passing through the inferiour Orders, and this is the onely exception against him. His Legates so far approve *Photius*'s Cause, that they communicate with him, and con-

(*ſ*) *Vid. Can.* 6. *& col.* 1101, 1130, 1354.

demn

demn *Ignatius*; for which indeed they were excommunicated when they came home, becauſe the Pope ſaid they had gone beyond their Commiſſion, whether this were only a Pretence, or that they had really exceeded their Orders: In his Epiſtles to the Emperour as well as to *Photius*, the Pope finds no other fault, but that of a Laick, why he ought not to have been made Patriarch, though there had been ſo late an Example of this in *Taraſius*, beſides Saint *Ambroſe* and *Nectarius*. So that the plain truth is, Pope *Nicholas* would have the whole matter reſerved to his own deciſion, and he ſhould be the Patriarch whom *Nicholas* would appoint. To ſay that *Photius* (*t*) uſurped upon *Ignatius* is but a Cavil, for *Ignatius* had ſerved *John* ſo before, as *Anaſtaſius* confeſſes, and *Nicholas* (*v*) does not deny it, only he again urges that himſelf ought to judge between them. In his Epiſt. to *Bardas* * he complements him highly, telling him, he was exceedingly troubled, that a Man of his extraordinary character for vertue and piety, ſhould be concerned for *Photius*, which ſufficiently overthrows the ſlander that the Depoſition of *Ignatius* was procured, becauſe he would not approve the Inceſt of *Bardas*, but excomunicated him for it Pope *Nicholas* is not conſiſtent with himſelf in the account he gives of the behaviour of his Legates in this Affair: ſometimes he writes that they informed him (*x*) that they were under reſtraint, and were told of very hard uſage deſigned them, but this was only Rumour: In another Epiſtle he writes that they had been bribed to communicate with *Photius*, and to depoſe *Ignatius*, but that they both denied they had done any ſuch thing, till at laſt *Zacharias* confeſſed that he had communicated with *Photius*, and had depoſed *Ignatius*; but not a Syllable of any Bribe mentioned: *Rhodoaldus* (*y*) the other Legate ſtood out ſtill, and would not confeſs, nor would by any means be perſuaded to abide his Tryal, but fled for it, notwithſtanding all the kind words and promiſes of fair dealing the Pope could give him: though in the thirteenth Epiſtle they are ſaid both to confeſs the Fact (*z*) and afterwards *Rhodoaldus* flies. So little is there to be relied upon in the Invectives againſt *Photius*. This is certain, not (*a*) a Biſhop was ſuffered to ſit in the Council called to depoſe him, till he had firſt ſubſcribed a Writing ſent thither from the Pope, wherein they denounced Anathema to *Photius*, and condemned his Councils, and owned thoſe againſt him: then it can be no wonder if they libel him in the moſt bitter manner, calling him by all the ill name

(*t*) *Præf. ad Syn.* 8. *init.*

(*v*) Nich. *Ep.* 5 *Conc. Tom.* 8.

* *Ep.* 12. ib.

(*x*) *Ep.* 6. ib.

(*y*) *Epiſt.* 7. *Col.* 289. & 10. *Col.* 355.

(*z*) *Col.* 381.

(*a*) *Act.* 1, 2, 3.

names they could think of, and treat him in such Terms as could not become them to use, whatever he might deserve; that nothing might be wanting to the keenness of their malice, they made *Iambicks* upon him, which *Anastasius* has taken care to translate, but the *Greeks* were ashamed of them, for their Copy tells us they were ill Verses, and so it has omitted them; but *Anastasius* (*b*) had no such nice Stomach, he knew no distinction of good or bad, so they were but against *Photius*. At the end of the ninth Action, the *Greeks*, it seems, were not so witty in their malice, but *Anastasius* has supplied that defect, and added some Rhimes of his own. *I mention this the rather for the honour and antiquity of this way of confutation, because a late Author has turned all the Papists Arguments, and all their Railery too into Rhime.* In Conclusion, (*c*) the Fathers subscribe his Deposition, not with *Ink*, but with Wine consecrated in the Sacrament, *which is a surer sign of the hatred they bare to* Photius *than of their belief of Transubstantiation*; for what malice could transport men to so extravagant Impiety, as to prophane our Lord's own blood to such a use? What the Proceedings of this Council were, may be sufficiently understood from this which hath been but intimated out of it, and I need not refer to the account *Photius* gives, but to the Acts themselves, to observe their heat and fury against him. He complains of great terrour and violence used in the Synod, and that certain Embassadours from the *Saracens* were received there, and took their places, as *Patriarchs* of the East. And there is still extant an (*d*) Epistle of *Elias* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, which confirms the Truth of what *Photius* says in this matter. He makes frequent Complaints in his Epistles of the hardships, and miseries and torments which himself and his Party endured, and declares how unwillingly he entred upon the Patriarchate, and professes, that if it had been in his own power, he would sooner have chosen to do any thing, than to venture on so high and difficult a station, and was now ready to resign: He ever dreaded the thoughts of it, he besought with tears that he might be excused, and that the *Cup* (as he expresseth it) might pass from him;

(*b*) *Act. 7. in fin.*

(*c*) Nicetas *in vita* Ignat. *ap.* Labbe *Conc. Tom.* 8.

——εἰ γὰρ μέλλει νῦν ὁ πρόλαμπτος, ἐδὶ' ὅτου ἔχειν σφράγισμα, Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ἀθέσμως πρέσβεις καὶ ὑποβύτας εἰς ἀρχιερατικὰς ἕδρας μεταπλάττειν καὶ πατριαρχικὰ λίτοις προσβύμιτα προτιθέναι καὶ τῷ θαύματι αὐθαδῶς συνιδρύειν χορυφαίους ἀποφαίνειν, &c. Phot. *Ep.* 118. "—Tho' "hitherto it has been unattempted, "and it is without a President, to "change the Ambassadours and Servants of impious *Saracens* into High-"Priests, and to give them the prero-"gatives of Patriarchs, and to set them "up as Heads of their excellent As-"sembly.

(*d*) Philippi Cyprii *Chron. Eccles. Græc. cum Com.* Henr. Hilarii. *p.* 137.

him; O (says he) *that Death had snatched me from the Constraint which was used in my Promotion!* And he makes these complaints not to any friend at a distance from Court, or who could be a stranger to his Affairs, but to *Bardas*, the Man who is said to have conspired with him to get *Ignatius* deposed; if that were true, what need could he have to make such pressing solicitations to one so deeply engaged in his Interest? and how ridiculous would such Protestations be? could he be so forsaken of all modesty and common sense, as to tell the very Man (e) who contrived the whole business with him, how great a force and reluctancy he had upon himself in consenting to be made Patriarch? || But it appears that *Bardas* || was one of his greatest Enemies. *Theophanes* (f) his Deacon and Prothonotary was put to the Torture, that by any means he might be compelled to accuse *Photius*, which he afterwards lamented, and besought his pardon. *Photius* (g) gives a large description of his miseries in an Epistle which he wrote to the Bishops while he was in Banishment. And all this he suffered for his Loyalty (h) to his Prince; for he was deposed, because he refused to receive *Basilius* to Communion after he had murthered *Michael* the Emperour. Whoever considers his unshaken Loyalty, and reads his Writings, will not easily believe that he could be so notorious a Villain as he is represented; but if so much wickedness could meet in one Man, in one Bishop, yet how improbable is it that the whole *Greek* Church should respect and reverence this Bishop as a Saint? or that Pope *John* the Eighth, after his cause had been so narrowly examined, and his Enemies had said and done their utmost, should yet think him a Man of an *orthodox Faith* and an *unblamable Life*; and compare him to St. *Athanasius*, St. *Cyril* and St. *Chrysostom*? But he had discovered that his Predecessors had been imposed upon, or that something more severe must be said of them: and so are all those imposed upon, or would impose upon others, who give us so monstrous a Character of so excellent a Man. He is charged with having corrupted the Acts of the Councils which restored him, and particularly those passages which import that this fourth Council of *C. P.* was cancelled by that. But is it a sure proof of Corruption and Forgery if Copies differ, as the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies often do? The next Question will be, where the Forgery lies, and who is to be taxed with it. To go no farther, the Version of *Anastasius* and the *Greek* Original of this fourth Council of

(e) Ep. 3. & 6.
|| Ep. 8.
(f) Ep. 83.
(g) Ep. 174.
(h) Zonar. *Annal.* & Leo *Grammat. Chronograph.*

of *C. P.* differ very much: for besides other Variations, there are twenty seven Canons in the *Latin*, and but fourteen in the *Greek*, yet both of them must pass for authentick enough, though the seventeenth of the additional Canons will give the *French* some pains to reconcile it to the practice of their Church. For it appoints that all Metropolitans shall meet in Council at the summons of their Patriarch, notwithstanding any prohibition from the secular Magistrate, and that Princes should not be present in any but General Councils; this latter constitution is indeed in the *Greek* || likewise, but both are contrary to the Practice of the *French* Church: For their Princes are wont to be present in their National and Provincial Synods, and their Bishops, if they be detained by command from the King, think that a sufficient excuse for absenting themselves from any Synod their Patriarch shall call them to. Two eminent Prelates of that Church, *de Marca* and *Bosquet*, have endeavoured to explain this Canon so as to justifie their own Doctrine and Practice: but *Christianus Lupus* was so little satisfied with the attempt, that he exclaims against it, as becoming rather *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* or *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, than Bishops of the *Gallican* Church, and whereas they alledge the Authority of *Hincmar* of *Rheimes*; he plainly says, that they might as well have alledged *Luther*'s testimony against the Council of *Trent*.|| *Natalis Alex.* interposes to mediate the business, and would willingly make up the Debate; with what success may be best estimated from the Censure past upon his book at *Rome*. But still these Canons must be all acknowledged authentick, though they are not in the *Greek*; but if the *Greek* differ from the *Latin* in any thing material that goes in the least against the Church of *Rome*, loud Outcries are presently made of *Falshood* and *Forgery*. For the Charge here seems to lye not against *Photius* alone, but against all the *Greeks* in general, even from the second to the eighth General Council. So *Anastasius* (*i*) complains, that they had falsified the second, the third, the fourth, the sixth, the seventh General Councils, and he suspects that they might use the same fraud as to the eighth. Nay they did so: The sly *Greeks* (*k*) stole away the Subscriptions which they had made in the beginning of this Council, and though they restored them after they were discovered, yet at the end of the Council they had shewn them such another trick, if *Anastasius* had not been too cunning for them. They had already taken out some Expressions

|| *Can.* 12.

|| *Sec.* 9, & 10. *p.* 194.

(*i*) *Præf. in Conc. C. P.* IV. *col.* 972.

(*k*) Anastas. *not. ad Action.* 1 *col.* 989.

ons which *Adrian* the Second foiſted into an Epiſtle of his Predeceſſor; and ſo they had robbed the Weſtern Emperor of all the fine things which the preſent Pope had made his Predeceſſor ſay of him, but *Anaſtaſius*, who with another as cunning as himſelf, *by great Providence as 'twas thought*, was there, found out the wrong done the Emperor, and great Clamours were raiſed about it, nor would the Legates at laſt ſubſcribe otherwiſe than conditionally, "As far as it was the pleaſure of that "worthy Prelate: which may convince us what a noiſe has uſed to be made of Forgery againſt the *Greeks* of whatever Party; for *Baſilius* and *Ignatius*, we ſee, are not exempted; the whole *Greek* Church of all Ages is accuſed of theſe fraudulent Practiſes, which aſſures us that there have been ſuch Practices on one ſide, and which ſide the fraud lyes may eaſily be determined, if we conſider that the paſſages pretended to have been forged, were received by all other Churches, and are not now denied to be genuine by the moſt learned Men in the Church of *Rome*, as has been ſhewn. 'Tis no new thing to hear of Complaints of Forgery, when any thing goes againſt the Church of *Rome*, and *Photius* is not the firſt Man that has been blackned to make the Charge find a more eaſie belief.

Omne, quod ad laudem Sereniſſimi noſtri Cæſaris ſanctiſſimus Dominus Hadrianus *in Epiſtola ſui deceſſoris,* Arſenio *Epiſcopo imminente, adjecerat, &c.* Gulielmus *quidam alter Bibliothecarius continuator* Anaſtaſii *in* Adrian. *II. p.* 389.

(*l*) *Uſque ad voluntatem ejuſdem eximii Præſulis.* Anaſtaſii *Continuat. in* Adrian. *II. p.* 339.

6. Well! But *Photius* had before been guilty of making alterations in an Epiſt. of Pope *Nicholas* (*m*), as that Pope complains. Very likely! and that he might be ſure not to be diſcovered, it was ſent (*n*) back again falſified to the Pope with the Acts of *Photius*'s Council. This is ſuch an odd kind of Cheat, that it lays a thing to his charge, which his worſt enemies never durſt brand him with, and is ſo great an Inſtance of Folly, that it ruines all the reſt of the Character they have been pleaſed to beſtow upon him: for it is acknowledged on all hands, that he was peculiarly eminent for his Learning, and for that which his Enemies call *ſubtilty*, and his Friends *wiſdom*. That *John* the Eighth did conſent that *Photius* ſhould be Patriarch, is not denied, nor that he ſent his Legates with Inſtructions for that purpoſe, as both his *Epiſtles* and his *Commonitorium* certifie. So far no Forgery is pretended: but they ſay, *John* never conſented to the abrogating of the fourth Council of *C. P.* and that if the Legates conſented to any ſuch thing, they went beyond their Commiſſion, but they rather incline to think, that though the Le-

(*m*) *Epiſt.* 6, 85

(*n*) *Ibid.* 10.

gates were guilty of too much connivance, and ſo betrayed the Truſt repoſed in them, yet the Acts of the Council that reſtored *Photius* are falſified, as the Epiſtles of *John* the Eighth are in all thoſe paſſages which ſpeak any thing in derogation to this fourth Council of *C. P.*

7. But, Firſt, It is certain that the reſtoring of *Photius*, and the owning him not only for a Patriarch, but even for a Biſhop only, is ſo far a derogation to this Council, which *Can.* 4. decrees that *Photius* is no Biſhop, nor ever was one, & pronounceth all his Epiſcopal Acts void: ſo that the Council which afterwards by the conſent and approbation of *John* the Eighth, acknowledges *Photius* for a Biſhop and a Patriarch too, does moſt certainly declare this whole Canon null, and bids fair towards the juſtifying all that is pretended to be forged in *John*'s Epiſtles. I cannot think the Alterations in theſe Epiſt. by whomſoever they were made, are ſo ancient as *Photius*'s time, perhaps they may be much later than *Ivo Carnutenſis*; but if they be of ſo ancient date, and if it be true, that this Pope afterwards recalled his approbation, and renounced communion with *Photius*, and anathematiſed him and his own Legates for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was laugh'd at for a *Tame-man* (*o*), and in mockery called a *Woman Pope*, Pope *Joan* inſtead of Pope *John*; which we are told gave riſe to that celebrated ſtory of Pope *Joan*, which was ſo firmly and ſo generally believed for ſo long a time; if he was ſo weak and unconſtant ſo ſoon to contradict his own *Epiſtles* and his *Commonitorium* (which are confeſſed to have been ſent on purpoſe to reſtore *Photius*) for no other reaſon but becauſe he was upbraided with caſting ſuch a reflection upon his two Predeceſſors *Nicholas* the Firſt and *Adrian* the Second, the ſworn Enemies of *Photius*; he might then be willing to have his Epiſtles ſo altered, as to make him moſt conſiſtent with his Predeceſſors and with himſelf. But much more would he be inclined to be conſenting to ſuch an alteration, if there were other motives more forcible: for the Truth is, *Photius* was the great Champion for the Liberties of the *Greek* Church, and therefore he muſt be ſure to enjoy no favour from the Church of *Rome*, which began to be as angry with *Ignatius*, when he ſhewed himſelf in the ſame cauſe. For the firſt breach between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches was occaſioned by contentions about Juriſdiction, though afterwards it ſpread it ſelf farther into other cauſes,

(*o*) Bin. *Not. in vit.* Joh. *Octavi*, & Andr. Schot. *Praf. ad* Photii *Bibliothecam.* Leo Allat. *De Synodo* VIII. *Photiana*, p. 47.

cauſes. *Holſtenius* would not allow this to be the riſe of the Schiſm; but *Pet. de Marca* (p) defends himſelf againſt his objections, and maintains what he had before aſſerted, that no other cauſe could be aſſigned; *Baluzius* adds, that he might have ſaid farther, that the Popes of *Rome* were in the fault, and could never juſtifie their Pretenſions: Which had been no more, ſays he, than our Anceſtors have ſaid before, as he there ſhews by particular Inſtances. We ſee that Pope *John*'s Epiſtles are as fully for abrogating this Council in *Pan Carnutenſis* as *Photius* could make them, though he had endeavoured it never ſo much: and for my part, I cannot believe that *Photius* was ſo much concerned for the Pope's Approbation, as that he would be at the pains to falſifie the Acts of a Council upon that account: he (q) had excommunicated and depoſed Pope *Nicholas*, and though he was himſelf afterwards depoſed, yet was he reſtored without the Pope's leave or knowledge, only the Pope had ſome hopes of having his pretenſions to *Bulgaria* ſucceed, and upon that ſent to ratifie what he could not hinder, but when he (r) found himſelf miſtaken in his deſign, and *Photius* the ſame Man ſtill, he fell foul upon him, as his Predeceſſors had done. Now cannot I be perſuaded, that *Photius*, if he could be ſo baſe and wicked as to make a thouſand Forgeries, would yet do it here: when he could not hope to be undiſcovered, or would condeſcend to uſe ſuch vile and fooliſh Arts, only to countenance his proceedings with the appearance of that Authority, which he had in ſo much ſcorn and defiance. This would be, as if Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, after he had renounced the Pope's Supremacy, ſhould have falſified the Bulls, which the Pope diſpatched hither for his Promotion to the See of *Canterbury*. The *Greeks*, we have ſeen, looked upon this as the healing Synod, which after the death of *Ignatius* had reconciled all differences amongſt them by making void the Council held againſt *Photius*, and ſettling him in his See again, and therefore whatever heats had paſſed between *Ignatius* and *Photius* (as it often happens between very good Men, and had happened between their own St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Epiphanius*) yet now theſe things being compoſed into a happy peace and ſettlement, notwithſtanding the Pope's Anathema, they received the names of both *Photius* and *Ignatius* into their *Diptychs*, and regiſtred them among their Saints whom they moſt ſolemnly commemorate in their Prayers.

(p) *Concord. Imp. & Sacerd. lib.* 1. *ſect.* 4. *cum* Baluz. *obſerv. & Prolegom. p.* 15

(b) Anaſt. *Prefat. col.* 967.

(r) Bin. *ex* Baronio *Conc. Tom.* 9. *col.* 326

8. There are ſo many Improbabilities in the Story againſt *Photius*, that they will hardly gain belief without a Miracle ‖; and

‖ Anaſt. *Continuator in Adrian.* II. *p.* 337.

and therefore we are told that in the Council held againſt him at *Rome*, under *Adrian* the Second, when the Book which contained his Vindication, after it had been trampled upon by all the *Reverend Aſſembly*, was at laſt thrown by his Holineſs into the fire; the flames catched at it and devoured it immediately in a ſtrange manner, with a noiſom ſmell, and a kind of Pitch colour tinctured the fire; and beſides, a great ſhower happening at the ſame time increaſed the flames as if ſo much Oyl had been thrown upon them. And now who is ſo hardy as to deny the Authority of any thing that was ſaid or done againſt *Photius*, or to doubt but that the fourth Council of *C. P.* is in full force, and infallibly the eighth General Council?

The firſt *Lat.* Council, *A. D.* MCXXXIII. The ſecond *Lat.* Council, *A. D.* MCXXXIX. The third *Lat.* Council, *A. D.* MCLXXX, *or* MCLXXIX. *ſecundum* Lab.

§ VIII. The imperfect account we have of the three firſt *Lateran* Councils ſerves onely to ſhew the little eſteem which was formerly had of them; how General or Infallible ſoever they might be; *Bellarmin* confeſſes that the two firſt are not extant, and no great diſcoveries have been made of them ſince his time; *Caranza* and *Sylvius* mention none of the three; and at the end of the Fourth *Lateran*, *Caranza* puts *Explicit Concilium* Lateranenſe *primum*. And *Platina* paſſes them all over without beſtowing ſo much as the Title of *General* upon them, and with ſo little remark as ſhews that he eſteemed them none of the moſt conſiderable Actions of thoſe Popes Lives who called them. Indeed there are few Provincial Synods the Records whereof leſs care has been taken of; nor could it (*f*) be that any Council ſhould univerſally obtain amidſt ſo much Faction and Schiſm, and among ſo many Anti-Popes as then vexed and divided the Church. But it was the cuſtom of thoſe times to call all Councils *General* which made any tolerable ſettlement of the Popedom, with the approbation of ſome of the chief Weſtern Princes. Thus *William* of *Tyre*, ſpeaking of the Third Council of *Lateran*, "When there "was a General Synod called at *Rome* the "foregoing year, throughout all the Latin "World, there went out of our Eaſt that were called to the Synod, I *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, &c. He mentions no more out of the Eaſt but himſelf, another Archbiſhop, beſides four other Biſhops, with one Prior and one Abbot; and he, as moſt think was a *Latin*, and ſo 'tis probable were all the reſt: However, the *Greeks* in this Council oppoſed the *Latins*, and would not yield in the leaſt. But not only

(*f*) Platina *in* Calixto *Secundo.* Innoc. *Secundo.* Alex. *Tertio.*

Cum anno præcedente indicta eſſet per univerſum Latinorum orbem Romæ *Synodus Generalis, ad eandem Synodum vocati profecti ſunt de noſtro Oriente, &c. Bel. ſacr. lib.* 21. *c.* 26.

only Western Councils, but National and Provincial Synods were sometimes styled General; thus *Matt. Paris* says, that *Stephen Langton* held a general Council at *Oxford*: and Sir *Roger Twisden* (*v*) gives many Instances to shew that the distinction of General Councils, at least in that sense in which it is now taken, was not suddenly brought into the Church, many Synods by our Writers being called General, to which the obligation was never of that nature, as if they did not, or could not err: and the same learned Author proves *, that the *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* II. was never received in *England*: yet the name of General, bestowed upon them by some well disposed to that Popes Interest, who called them, is almost all that can be shewn for the Authority of these three Councils. It doth not appear that any of the Eastern Bishops were in the two first, and it is certain that the *Grecks* dissented in the third, as they ever did, when they had no restraint upon them. 'Tis remarkable that in this Council an Oath was drawn up, by which all the Bishops, that had rejected *Alexander* the Third, abjured, and sware Allegiance to him *against all men*, *contra omnem hominem*, which (*x*) Oath was afterwards improved into that which all Bishops, *&c.* take at their Consecration.

Eodem Anno MCCXXII. *Magister* Stephanus de Langetuna *Generale Concilium celebravit apud* Oxonium. *Hist. Maj. ad A. D.* MCCXXII.

(*v*) *Historic. Vindic. cap.* 8. * *P.* 162. + *P.* 177.

(*x*) Labbe *Conc. & Pontificale Rom.*

§. IX. 1. The fourth Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third, *An.* MCCXV. is reckoned the twelfth General Council in order by *Bellarmin*, *Possevin*, &c. Cardinal *Pole* with his Synod at *Lambeth* owns it for General, they frequently mention it, and never but under the Title of General: though they do not put it in the same rank among the General Councils, they profess however to receive and embrace the Faith of the Church of *Rome* according to the Decrees of the General Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third (*u*). The Council of *Constance* * requires all Popes to make profession of the Faith established in the VIII. Sacred General Councils, whereof this is commonly thought to be set down for one: and the Council of *Trent* (*x*) it self calls this a General Council, The Great General Council of *Lateran* (*y*), and makes use of its authority again (*z*); and, which is yet more to the purpose, a Council of *English* Bishops held at *Oxford* (*a*), not above seven years after, acknowledg the Authority of this Council of *Lateran* and several times quote its Decrees. In short, as this is placed by *Bellarmin* among those Councils, which are received with full approbation beyond all dispute by the Church of *Rome*, so he looks upon

The fourth *Lat.* Council. MCCXV.

(*u*) *Decret.* 2. * *Session.* 39. (*x*) *Session.* 24. *c.* 5. *de reform.* & *Session.* 14. *c.* 5. *de peniten.* (*y*) *Sess.* 14. *c.* 8. (*z*) *Session* 21. *cap.* 9. (*a*) *Conc. Tom.* 11. *pa.* 1. *A.* MCCXIV. *cap.* 24, 28, 29, 33.

on it as no leſs than Hereſie to deny the Authority of it; and therefore when he has produced the third Canon of this Council in defence of the Depoſing Doctrine againſt *Barclay*, he cries out with great zeal and vehemence, "What could *Barclay* ſay to this? if this be "not the voice of the Catholick Church, "where I pray ſhall we find it? and if it is "(as queſtionleſs it is) he that deſpiſes to "hear it,(as *Barclay* has done)is he not to be "looked upon as an Heathen-man,and a Pub-"lican, and by no means a Chriſtian or a "pious Man? This *Widrington*(*b*) complains of, as intolerably inſulting; others may rather think he ſpeaks as a *Cardinal*, when he was managing the Popes cauſe ſo victoriouſly from ſo infallible evidence. For ſuch is the authority and eſteem in the Church of *Rome*, of this Council, that it is uſually called *The Great Council of Lateran*, either from the great number of Biſhops in it, or from the great importance of the matters decided,or both. The number of Biſhops was no leſs than CCCCXII. or in *Bellarmin*'s reckoning CCCCLXXIII. and among theſe were the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople* and *Jeruſalem*, and the Delegates of the other two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, LXXVII. Primates and Metropolitans, beſides DCCC. Abbots and Priors, theſe were all there in perſon, and Proxies were ſent innumerable. The Emperour likewiſe of *Conſtantinople*, the King of *Sicily* Emperour of the *Romans* Elect, the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Jeruſalem*, *Cyprus*, *Arragon*, and other Princes and Cities ſent their Embaſſadours hither: ſo that never was there ſuch a ſhow perhaps in the world again.

Quid hic Barclaius *diceret?- ſi hæc non eſt Eccleſiæ Catholicæ vox, ubi obſecro eam inveniemus? &, ſi eſt, (ut veriſſime eſt) qui eam audire contemnit ut* Barclaius *fecit, annon ut Ethnicus & Publicanus, & nullo modo Chriſtianus & pius habendus erit?*

(*b*) *Diſcuſſio Diſcuſſ. part.* 1. § 2. *p.* 28.

2. The matters determined both of Faith and of Diſcipline, were extraordinary and of the greateſt importance. The Doctrines of Faith defined were Tranſubſtantiation (*c*), the Articles concerning the Holy Trinity aſſerted and vindicated from the errour of Abbot *Joachim*, and thoſe errours condemned, and the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son declared (*d*). *The Depoſing Doctrine eſtabliſhed* (*e*). The Church of *Rome* declared to be the Mother and Miſtreſs *of all Chriſtians* (*univerſorum Chriſti fidelium*,) and to have by God's appointment the Dominion over all other Churches of ordinary Authority by her extraordinary Prerogative (*f*).

(*c*) *Cap.* 1.

(*d*) *Cap.* 2.
(*e*) *Cap.* 3.

(*f*) *Cap.* 5.

3. The

3. The Decrees in points of Diſcipline are in their kind no leſs conſiderable; againſt the Incontinency of the Clergy (*g*), againſt their Drunkenneſs (*h*), againſt their Negligence and Debauchery of Prelates (*i*), that no Clergy-man ſhould give Sentence in Capital Cauſes (*k*). Auricular Confeſſion enjoyned once every year (*l*) *That no Clergy-man ſhould take an Oath of Allegiance to any ſecular Perſons, unleſs he held ſome temporal Eſtate of them* (*m*). That no Clergy-man ſhould be obliged to pay Taxes (*n*). The manner of proceedings in Excommunications regulated (*o*). The Prohibition of Marriages reſtrained to the fourth degree (*p*). Clandeſtine Marriages forbidden, and that Children of Parents married within the degrees prohibited declared illegitimate (*q*). Againſt Simony (*r*), and many other things of like nature, which are of the higheſt conſequence, and fall under daily practice.

(*g*) *Cap.* 14. (*h*) *Cap.* 15. (*i*) *Cap.* 17. (*k*) *Cap.* 18. (*l*) *Cap.* 21. (*m*) *Cap.* 43. (*n*) *Cap.* 46. (*o*) *Cap.* 47. (*p*) *Cap.* 50. (*q*) *Cap.* 51. (*r*) *Cap.* 63.

4. All this, one would think, were ſufficient to put the Authority of the fourth Council of *Lateran* beyond all contradiction or debate: for who can imagine that a Council celebrated with ſo much ſolemnity, which decided Controverſies of ſo mighty concernment in the Church, and determined things of continual uſe among all ſorts and Orders of Men, ſhould not immediately meet with the moſt entire ſubmiſſion, and always retain an undoubted Authority and veneration. Thus much would have been due, if it had not been infallible; but being infallible, what regard muſt every Age, and every Nation, and every Writer, at leaſt every *Traditionary* Chriſtian pay to it! yet this very Council ſo famous and ſo renowned in its Members, ſo extraordinary in its Determinations and Decrees, lay dormant, unregarded and unknown till the year MDXXXVII. that is, till above CCC. years after it was held. 'Tis very ſurpriſing that neither *Innocent* himſelf, nor his Nephew and next Succeſſor but one, *Gregory* the Ninth, who publiſhed his Uncles Decretal Epiſtles, and theſe very Decrees, which now paſs for the Decrees of this Council among the reſt, ſhould put this forth among the other General Councils; 'tis ſtrange that no other Pope or Biſhop, or at leaſt ſome Canoniſt or other learned man ſhould ever think of it, but 'tis yet more ſtrange that *Merlin* in his Councils printed but three years before the fourth Council of *Lateran* was publiſhed, ſhould omit this, though he ſets down the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. But when this Council did come to light, with what Credentials did it come? what evidence does it bring for its Authority? is it

it printed from ſome ancient Manuſcripts in the *Vatican*? it might then be wondred how it ſhould lie ſo long concealed, never publiſhed, never quoted, nor mentioned, but 'tis a much greater wonder, how the Pope's own Library, ſo famed for Manuſcripts, ſhould miſs of this, where ſo much of Popery, and the principal and niceſt part of it, his own Prerogative, is concerned. Would the Popes of *Rome* keep no authentick Records in a thing of this nature, which ſo nearly touches them? They are not uſed to be ſo careleſs in theſe matters: the other Patriarchs, as *Coſſartius* would perſwade us, had all of them Copies, and the Decrees were turned into *Greek* for that very purpoſe, how came the Pope himſelf then to have none, or where had the Copies of the other Patriarchs lain ſo many hundred years hid? it was perhaps from one of thoſe Copies, that we have now the Decrees of this Council: no ſuch matter; but *Johannes Cochleus* a *German* one of *Luthers* Adverſaries produces them after above CCC. years concealment, and about XX. years after the Reformation begun by *Luther* out of ſome obſcure Manuſcripts, and ſends them to *Peter Crabbe* to be annexed to his Councils, and what was wanting in that, has been picked up here and there, and pieced together ſince.

5. But firſt there are no Subſcriptions to this Council, and then *Matt. Paris* (*f*) who lived at that time, ſays that LX. *Capitula* were propoſed, which ſome liked, others thought burthenſome. He mentions but LX. *Capitula*, but in the Council as we now have it, are LXX. and in *Innocent*'s Works LXXII. *Matt. Paris* in plain terms ſays, that this Council ended in *Laughter and Mockery*, that the Pope got a good ſum of money from the Fathers before he would let them part, and that they were forced to borrow the money and make preſent payment, before he would give them leave to be gone, and that then the gainful Synod was diſſolved, and the Clergy went with heavy hearts away. Some have excepted againſt the Teſtimony of *Matt. Paris*, but without reaſon; for *Innocent* the Fourth gives him this Character, that *he was a man of known vertue and piety*; and indeed he is obſerved to be ſo impartial an Hiſtorian, that 'tis his manner to relate the plain Truth of things, whoever may ſuffer by it, not ſparing ſo much as *Henry* the Third, at whoſe command he wrote his Hiſtory, nor the very Monks of his

(*f*) *In* Johanne MCCXV.

Papa, jam accepta pecunia, quæſtuoſum hoc Concilium diſſolvit gratis, totuſque Clerus abiit triſtis (*Hiſt. Min. apud Antiquit.* Britannic. *in Vit.* Steph. Langton. *p.* 158. *edit.* Hanov.)

Vir probatæ vitæ & Religionis expertæ. Vid. Matt. Paris *ad An.* MCCXLVIII.

his own Order. The Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, upon citing *Matt. Paris* on this occaſion, ſays, that he knew very well how the poor Monk would be exclaimed againſt, as a Schiſmatick, a Lyar, and an Enemy to the Apoſtolick See, whatever were alledged in his Defence. "[1] For it is an uſual thing for us *Roma-*"*niſts*, adds he, to lay aſide grave Authours, with the unjuſt "reproach of Hereſie and Schiſm, when they contradict our "vain devices. *Godefridus*[2], another Hiſtorian of the ſame Age, agrees with *Matthew Paris*, that nothing was concluded in the Council, only he obſerves indeed that the *Eaſtern* Church (a thing, ſays he, never heard of before) ſubmitted it ſelf to the See of *Rome*. *Platina* ſays the ſame thing, that nothing was decreed in this Council, but that it broke up of a ſudden, and that the Pope going to reconcile the *Piſans* and the *Genueſe*, who were then at War by Sea, and the *Ciſalpines* by Land, died at *Perugia*. Some would underſtand *Platina* ſo, as if he meant only that nothing was done towards the Expedition into the *Holy Land*; but this can be none of his meaning, becauſe in the laſt of thoſe Decrees we now have, this whole buſineſs is fully concluded upon and determined, which *Platina* could not have been ignorant of, if there had been any ſuch Canons then, or if they had paſſed for Genuine. *Nauclerus* || in the words of *Platina* ſays many things were debated, but nothing concluded, but that however ſome Conſtitutions are ſaid to have been publiſhed, one whereof, ſays he, is extant, importing, "That if one Prince "offend againſt another, the correction of him belongs to the "Pope: ſo it ſeems 'twas only Report in his time at the latter end of the fifteenth Century, that ever any ſuch Decrees were publiſhed, and he knew of but one then extant, which yet is not to be found in this Council, as we have it, nor in *Innocent*'s Decretals, though theſe are the only Canons that then could make any pretence to the Authority of this Council. The Preface to *Innocent*'s Works informs us, that theſe Decrees were written by *Innocent* himſelf, and ſo are His, not the Councils Conſtitutions; if they were read in Council, that is the moſt that can be granted, and then they ſeemed to ſome eaſie or pleaſing, to others burthenſome: but if they were rather made, after the Council was diſſolved, becauſe mention is frequently made of the Council as paſt, in them, then they muſt be written by that Pope in haſte, on his Journey, or in the hurry of

[1] Anton. de Dominis, *Lib.6.c.10. p.815.*

[2] *Annal. ad An.* MCCXV.

|| Generat. 41. *An.* MCCXV.

other busineſs: for he went to make up a Peace between the *Piſans* and *Genoeſe*, and other *Italians*, but died before he could effect it at *Perugia*. The Editor of his Works printed by [1] *Cholinus* gathers from ſeveral places, that *Innocent* himſelf drew them up into this Form, which we have them now in, after the diſſolution of the Council: he might have added ſo many others [2] (as they are ſet down in the Council, but they are differently numbred in the Decretals) for the Council is quoted in all of them: but theſe quotations *Coſſartius* refers to the *Lateran* Council under *Alexander* the Third; though it is not probable that that Council ſhould be quoted at large under the name of the General Council of the *Lateran*, without ſome particular note of diſtinction, either of the Popes Name under whom it was called, or of the third *Lateran* Council; for this is the uſual way in Citations, and had been neceſſary here to diſtinguiſh it from the other two *Lateran* Councils; but if we ſuppoſe theſe Canons drawn up by *Innocent* the third, after the diſſolution of the Council, there could be no need of particularizing the Council which had been ſo lately held by himſelf: and he could be reaſonably underſtood to mean no other than his own Council, unleſs he had ſpecified it. But farther yet [3], *Gregory* the Ninth, though he have tranſcribed all the ſeventy *Capitula* into the Decretals, yet aſcribes not one of them to the Council, but to *Innocent* himſelf only, *Innocentius Tertius in Concilio Generali*; though he often mentions the Decrees made in the *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the *Third*, as the Decrees of the Council, taking no notice of *Innocent*. *Platina* likewiſe attributes the condemning the Errours of *Abbat Joachim* and *Almarius*, not to the Council, but to *Innocent*.

[1] Cap. 29, 33, 41.

[2] Cap. 11, 61, 46.

[3] Widrington *Diſcuſſ. Diſcuſſ. Part.* 1. § 1. p. 10.

6. Notwithſtanding all this, the great Cardinal *Perron* [4] pronounces roundly, that thoſe who denied the Authority of this Council deſerve to be pitied rather than anſwered, perhaps becauſe he found pitying more eaſie than anſwering: but he gives this very good reaſon for what he ſays, *becauſe at this rate the Precept concerning Auricular Confeſſion would not be valid, nor Tranſubſtantiation* de fide, *no nor the proceſſion*, nor the oppoſite Articles to the Errors of *Joachim*; and ſo the Schoolmen in their Writings, and the Inquiſitors in puniſhing Hereticks, had been all to blame. *Widrington* replies, that the Practice of the Church, and the inſerting theſe Canons into the Body of the Canon Law by *Gregory* the Ninth was ſufficient to give Authority to them. But this

[4] *Ib. p.* 11, 12.

this is to bring us back again from a Council to the Pope, and from him to ſend us to the Church diffuſive, to enquire into her Faith and Practice, and ſo we are diſappointed of the vaſt hopes conceived from ſo numerous an Aſſembly. But if theſe things had then been of *known Practice* and *undoubted Truth*, how came they not immediately to be conſented to in Council, how came they to ſeem *grievous* and *burthenſom* to the Biſhops there? was not Tranſubſtantiation one of thoſe Grievances, the Depoſing Doctrine another, Auricular Confeſſion a third, and might not many more Grievances be mentioned? Well, but the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and the true notion of the Trinity muſt be called in queſtion, if we reject this Council: by no means, becauſe this had been explained in other Councils as far as was neceſſary, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Manuſcripts of *Coſſartius* leave out the Proceſſion, ſo that was, it ſeems, but in ſome Copies, and cannot be proved from this Council. But all theſe Doctrines (ſays *Widrington* [1]) have been received and embraced by the Catholick Church, and from thence derive their Authority. This we deny, neither the Depoſing Doctrine (as *Widrington* himſelf confeſſes and maintains) nor Tranſubſtantiation, nor Auricular Confeſſion was ever received by the Catholick Church. But the truth is, he was forced to ſay ſomething; he was loth to deny the Authority of a Council now generally received by the Church of *Rome*, he rather choſe to evade the third Canon as well as he could, nor durſt he either in his Anſwer to *Leſſius* [2], or in his laſt Rejoynder to *Fitzherbert* [3] diſown the Council, but after he has raiſed all the Objections he was able, profeſſes at laſt, that as for his own part he receives it. The ſame Objections have been lately renewed by Father *Walſh*, yet ſtill he too does not profeſs to diſown the Authority of the Council.

[1] *Ibid. p.* 12.

[2] *Diſcuſſ. ib. p.* 22.

[3] *Rejoynder, cap.* 9.

7. But *Coſſartius* produceth a *Greek* Tranſlation of this Council, which, he ſays, is of the ſame Antiquity with the Council it ſelf, and he is poſitive that the very ſight of this is enough to convince all men the Decrees are Genuine, this Tranſlation ſhewing the Agreement between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*: for that the Decrees, which were made by the unanimous conſent of all, might be by all obſerved, they were turned into the *Greek* Language for the uſe and benefit of thoſe who did not underſtand the *Latin*. The *Greek*, he confeſſes, is in many places barbarous, and his Manuſcripts in ſome places imperfect, and therefore in thoſe places he was forc'd to give us only the *La-*

tin, leaving void ſpaces in the oppoſite Column, where the *Greek* was defective: but here I obſerve that the whole firſt Chapter is not extant in the *Greek* Copy, nor does it appear by any vacancies left in the Print that the Manuſcript was imperfect, but that the whole Chapter was omitted by the *Greek* Tranſlator, and ſo if this Manuſcript prove any thing, it proves that the *Greek* Church did not concur with the *Latin* in the Article of Tranſubſtantiation; for this being the firſt time that ever that Doctrine was aſſerted in a General Council, certainly the *Greeks* would never have omitted to tranſlate ſo material a Paſſage of the Council wherein this is contained, if they had agreed to it. All that part of the third Chapter which concerns the Depoſing Doctrine is likewiſe wanting in the *Greek*; but here he tells us is a leaf of the Manuſcript wanting both in the *Greek* and the *Latin*: 'twere to be wiſhed we could know how it came to be wanting; but however this ſerves to confirm to us, that nothing is deficient in the firſt Chapter, but that the Manuſcript is entire, though the whole Chapter be only in *Latin*, and ſo the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation had the ill luck to be left out in the Tranſlation of the firſt Council, in which it ever was defined, for which no other reaſon can be given, if this Manuſcript be Authentick, but that the *major* part of the Church, *i. e.* all the Eaſt, and four Patriarchs of five rejected it. The Tranſlator often miſtakes the *Latin*, and quite alters the ſenſe; and in the ſecond Chapter where the Catholick Doctrine concerning the bleſſed *Trinity* is explained, the Particle *non* is omitted in the *Latin*, and οὐκ in the *Greek*, a ſmall miſtake in a matter of Faith; but ſuch a miſtake as could not eaſily eſcape in both Languages; or, if it did, it muſt needs give a very exact and faithful Account of what was defined in the Council. This and other groſs faults do not make much for the credit of this Manuſcript, nor engage us neceſſarily to believe upon its ſole Authority, that the *Greek* Church received the fourth *Lateran* Council, or indeed that it was ever received at all till of late years; which many learned men in the Church of *Rome* have been ſo ſenſible of, that they have never alledged its Authority, but when they had nothing elſe to alledge. For neither the more ancient of our modern Divines, ſays *Widrington*[5], who are vehement Maintainers of the Popes Power to depoſe Princes, as *Victoria*, *Corduba*, *Sanders*, and others, nor Cardinal *Bellarmin* himſelf in his Controverſies did make any great reckoning of the Decree of this great Council. This was *Bellarmin*'s laſt Refuge

[5] *Laſt Rejoynder, c. 9.*

fuge, when he was beaten off from his other Arguments by *Barclay*; and though he urges it with great confidence and earneſtneſs, yet if he had much relyed upon its Authority, he would have uſed it before: for if the Council be General, the Argument is unanſwerable and infallible in their account, whatever diſguiſes may be put upon it. The Oppoſers of this *Lateran* Council further add [1], that the Council of *Conſtance* meant not this Council, but that of the *Lateran* under *Alexander* the Third, and that the Council of *Trent* ſpoke according to the common opinion, that is, in plain terms, the Council of *Trent* was miſtaken, and that in a matter of no ſmall conſequence: for if one General Council tell the world that another is General which really is not ſo, what aſſurance can men have of any Council, that it is General? Or what Errours may not a General Council by this means lead men into? What they anſwer to the Teſtimony of the Council held at *Oxford* ſo ſoon after, I am yet to learn: but it can be no wonder that our Clergy ſhould at that time yield to any thing the Pope deſired, when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had had ſo freſh an Inſtance of his Power, who had been ſuſpended in this very Council of *Lateran*, and was willing to comply with any thing that might advance his Intereſt at *Rome*. The Pope openly ſtyled King *John* his Vaſſal, and had reduced all Chriſtendom to ſuch dependance and obedience, that there was not one of thoſe ſecular Princes and States, that gave their attendance at this Council, but were ſome way or other obnoxious to him, and ſtood in awe of him; the *Croiſade* left the Popes at liberty to play their own game at home, and had gained them more in the Eaſt than could ever be gotten by all the Councils that were ever called. *Henry* Brother to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* was then poſſeſſed of *Conſtantinople* with the Title and Honour of *Greek* Emperour, and the four Eaſtern Patriarchs were all Weſtern Biſhops, one *Frenchman* and three *Italians*, who held their Patriarchats of the Pope, and were never owned in their reſpective Titular Sees. Upon this account it is rather ſtrange that any demur ſhould be made to this Pope's Dictates in Council, or that this Council ſhould not be every where reverenced as an Oracle, than that one Nation, which had ſmarted ſo much under the Pope's diſpleaſure, ſhould acknowledge it in his Succeſſor's days; for *Honorius* the Third was no degenerate Succeſſor to *Innocent* the Third, and our Nation then had learnt to ſubmit

[1] Widrington, *ib. p.* 20.

to

to harder terms than these: yet sure there must be something in these Decrees very irksome, which could not pass the Votes of an Assembly so entirely addicted to the Pope; and here is no mention of the Doctrines of the *Lateran* Council in that of *Oxford*; besides, 'tis remarkable that *Richard* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *An.* MCCXVII. two years after the Council, cites it *c.* 7. yet *c.* 4. where he gives an Exposition of the Catholick Faith, does not follow this Council in putting down Transubstantiation for one Article of it. And Sir *Roger Twisden* [1] shews, that notwithstanding this Council of *Oxford*, the fourth Council of *Lateran* was not received in *England*. Not to dissemble any thing material in this business, *Mat. Paris* himself [2] relates, that the Arch-deacon of Saint *Albans* quotes the twenty first Canon as a Canon of this Council, and so *Innocent* the Fourth calls it; but *Alexander* the Fourth takes not the least notice of this Canon when he reverses *Innocent*'s Decree in favour of the Monks, giving them liberty to hear Confessions without the consent of the Parish Priests; nor do his Cardinals, when he advised with them [3] upon this occasion, in the Instrument which they drew up about that controversie, make mention of any Canon of a General Council in favour of the Parish-Priests. But whether it were that it could not be easily believ'd, that so many men should meet together to no purpose, or that *Innocent*'s Decrees in the *Lateran* Council were mistaken for the Decrees of the Council it self; or whether *Innocent* the Fourth having call'd it a General Council, 'twas thought no good manners to contradict him; however it were, in process of time the Canons were owned as genuine, and some of them more early than one would expect, as may be seen particularly of the twenty first Canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c. Yet after all, a late Doctor of the *Sorbon*, with the Approbation of the Faculty, [4] has concluded from the foregoing Arguments, that no Canons were made by the Council, but that some Decrees only being framed by the Pope, and read in Council, some of them to the *major* part seemed burthensome.

[1] Historical Vindication, *cap.* 8. *p.* 165.

[2] *Ad Annum* MCCXLVI.

[3] Launoii *explicat. Tradit. Eccles. circa Canon. utriusq; sexus, c.* 2.

[4] Du Pin, *Dissert. p.* 573.

The first Council of *Lyons*, *A. D.* MCCXLV.

§ X. 1. *Launoy* [5] proves against *Bellarmin* that the first Council of *Lyons* under *Innocent* the Fourth was not General, because *Innocent* in his Sentence against *Frederick*, though he often mentions the Council, yet never calls it General, or Universal, or Oecumenical; and so in his Epistles to the Archbishop of *Sens*, and to the Chapter of that Church, to the Bishops of *England*, and

[5] *Ep. part.* 7. *ad* Raymundum Formentinum, *p.* 228. *&c.*

and to the Biſhop of *Oſtia*, he never ſo much as once calls it General, which certainly he would have done, if he could have aſcribed to it ſo great Authority: but he called thither only the King of *France*, the Arch-biſhop of *Sens* and his Chapter, beſides the Biſhops of *England* and the Biſhop of *Oſtia*. The Biſhops of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Germany*, *Arragon*, *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, it doth not appear that he ever called. For *Odoricus Rainaldus* in his Continuation of *Baronius* gives a Regiſter of the Epiſtles which *Innocent* wrote upon this account, but mentions none ſent to any of theſe Biſhops. I omit, ſays *Launoy*, the Eaſtern Biſhops, *Qui profectò vocati non fuere, who aſſuredly were not called.* He ſhews that *Bellarmin* contradicts himſelf in this matter, and goes againſt his own Principles, tacitly retracting in his eighteenth Chapter *de Concil. lib.* 1. what he had ſaid in his fifth of this Council, and beſides, does abuſe *Palmerius* and *Platina*, whoſe Authority he brings to prove it General, whereas neither of them ſay any ſuch thing. And thus, ſays he, has *Bellarmin* run himſelf into ſuch difficulties as he will never be able to get clear of: For if the Conditions required by him to make a Council General be true, then is this not General; if this be General then are not thoſe Conditions rightly lay'd down, nor the buſineſs truly ſtated. But, as for *Palmerius* and *Platina*, who are falſly quoted, he can never bring himſelf off, unleſs he pretend negligence, which indeed makes the caſe but ſo much the worſe.

2. This Council of *Lyons* is not in *Nicolin*'s Councils Printed at *Venice* MDLXXXV. with the Approbation of *Sixtus* the Fifth, under this Title, *Conciliorum omnium, tam Generalium quam Provincialium, quæ jam inde ab Apoſtolicis temporibus hactenus legitimè celebrata haberi potuerunt. Caranza* likewiſe and *Sylvius* either knew nothing of it, or thought it not worth their taking notice of.

3. But it is more conſiderable *, that in the late conteſt between the Pope and the King of *France*, the Court of *Rome* contending that the *Regale* are only Conceſſions of the Church which were reſtrained in the Council of *Lyons*, and that therefore they ought not to be extended to Churches which were not then ſubject to the *French*; the Arch-biſhop of *Rheims*, in an Aſſembly at *Paris* of twenty ſix Biſhops and ſix that were named to Biſhopricks, being chief of the Committee of ſix deputed to conſider the affair of the *Regale*, and make Report, declares that the Council of *Lyons* was ſo little conſidered, that in the famous con-

* *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, &c. p. 309.

conteſt between *Philip* the Fair and *Boniface* the Eighth, the King founded his pretenſions on the practice of St. *Lewis* and not on the Decree of that Council. However this Council was General enough to depoſe the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, and to be appealed to as a ſufficient warrant for the depoſing of Emperors ever ſince. But the *Engliſh* could not get Juſtice done them upon *Martin* the Pope's Legate, though they often and earneſtly demanded it in the name of the whole Nation: they remonſtrated ſeveral times, and made divers and repeated Complaints of the great Extortions that had been made upon them, but were ſent away without Redreſs; they complained that there was an infinite number of *Italians* in *England*, who exhauſted all the Revenues of the Church, but performed nothing at all of the Duties required; that beſides Subſidies and other ways, the bare Revenue paid yearly out of this Kingdom to *Italians* amounted to above threeſcore thouſand Marks, which was more than the King's Revenue. But all they could ſay availed nothing; This General Council * was called for depoſing Kings, not for redreſſing Grievances: and for the Glory of Popes and the Terror of all ſucceeding Emperors, to explain the Story of this Council, *Sixtus Quintus* † placed the following Inſcription in the *Vatican*; *The Emperor* Frederick *the Second, is declared an Enemy to the Church, and deprived of his Empire*, Innocent *the Fourth being Pope*. And while the Emperor was thus depreſſed, the ſame Council advanced the Cardinals, and ſet them on Horſe-back in Red Hats and Purple Robes.

* *Con. Tom.* XI. *part.* 1.

† Angelus Roccha, *Bibliothec. Vatican, p.* 208. Innocentio *Quarto, Pont. Max. Imp.* Fridericus *Secundus, hoſtis Eccleſiæ declaratur, Imperioque privatur.*

§ XI. 1. The Hiſtory of the ſecond Council of *Lyons* is in ſhort thus; *Michael Palæologus* ‖ after he had put out the Eyes of the young Emperor *Johannes Laſcaris*, whoſe Guardian he was, and was excommunicated by *Arſenius* the Patriarch, and by this means became odious to all mankind, and was in imminent danger from *Charles* King of *Sicily*, who was preparing to recover *C. P.* lately regained by *Michael*, *Michael* being in theſe circumſtances bethought himſelf of reconciling the two Churches, as a proper expedient to ſettle himſelf in his new gotten Dominions: but his Patriarch *Joſeph* was utterly averſe to any ſuch propoſal, and had engaged himſelf by an Oath never to agree to any Union with the *Latin* Church upon the Terms inſiſted on: him therefore *Michael* forces to reſign, and hide himſelf in a Monaſtery, but

The ſecond Council of *Lyons*, *A. D.* MCCLXXIV.

‖ Pachymeres *Fragm. a* Dionyſ. Petavio. *Edit. p.* 330.

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* Pachym. *p.* 335.

Bonorum, videlicet, Publicationibus, Relegationibus, Carceribus, Excæcationibus, Plagis, Mutilationibus, & id genus aliis Pœnis. Angelus Roc. *Biblioth. Vatican. ex* Niceph. Greg *lib* 5.— *in teterrimos carceres conjectus fuit.* (Beccus.) ib. *ex eod.*

|| *P.* 345, 347. † *p.* 329.

† *Ib. p.* 334.

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|| *Con. Tom.* 11. *part.* 1. *p.* 996.

§ XII. After a Vacancy of the Popedom for about eleven Months, *Philip* the Fair had procured *Clement* the Fifth to be choſen Pope, but did before oblige him by Oath to certain Conditions, which being drawn up under ſix Heads, were agreed upon and ſworn to: one of which was to abſolve *Philip* from the Cenſures of his Predeceſſour *Boniface* the Eighth; another, that he ſhould brand the memory of *Boniface* with Anathema for the Crimes charged upon him, which were no leſs than Hereſie, Schiſm and Perjury. The firſt *Clement* readily performed, but ſtuck at the ſecond; and at once, both to avoid the Odium of the thing, and to put a better Colour on thoſe Crimes in himſelf, which he was required to condemn in *Boniface*, he was

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Council of *Vienna*, *A. D.* MCCCXI.

adviſed to call a Council: he did ſo at *Vienne*, in which he found an eaſie expedient to acquit *Boniface* from the Crimes objected, and himſelf from the performance of his Oath: This was the ground * and occaſion of the calling this Council. But ſince they were met, the better, 'tis likely to amuſe the King, and that their only buſineſs might not appear to be to delude him, they proceed to condemn the *Biguardi* and *Biguinæ* certain Hereticks of thoſe times, and for the abominable Enormities † committed by the *Knights Templars*, they diſſolve that Order, and ſettle their Endowments upon the *Knights Hoſpitalers* of *Jeruſalem*. The Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* was likewiſe in this Council confirmed, and the Proceſſion on that day inſtituted, and the Study of the Eaſtern Languages encouraged. As for the *Clementine* || Conſtitutions, moſt of them were made before or after the Council, and publiſhed by *Clement*'s Succeſſour, *John* the Twenty ſecond. But one * Conſtitution had been worth at leaſt four Books of the Five, *viz.* "That the Biſhop of the chief See ſhould "not be called Prince of the Prieſts, or of the Univerſal "Church: as it had been formerly determined in a Council at *Carthage*, and was now propoſed among other particulars to this Council by *Durandus* in a Treatiſe † concerning the manner of holding General Councils publiſhed by him at the Command of *Clement* the Fifth, and preſented to the Council. But *Clement* in his Conſtitutions is ſo far from any ſuch Deſign, that he has not ſo much as revoked the Deciſion of Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, in the Bull *Unam ſanctam*, where he determines it to be a Point neceſſary to Salvation, that every humane Creature ſubmit it ſelf to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Though indeed he did revoke it as to its Exerciſe in the Kingdom of *France*, by declaring, that the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church were no ways infringed by it ||. The obſervation of *Walter de Hemingford*, who liv'd not long after is conſiderable; "It did not deſerve (ſays he) to be called a "Council, becauſe the Pope did all of his own Head, without the "Conſent or Anſwer of the Sacred Council.

* Vercerius *de rebus geſtis* Hen. *Septimi*, *p.4. citatur a* Binio, *in notis ad Concilium.*

† *Conc. Tom.* XI. *part.* 2.

|| *Proœm. ad* Clement. *Conſtitut.*

* *Conc. Afric. Art.* 6. *Ut primæ ſedis Epiſcopus Princeps Sacerdotum, vel univerſalis Eccleſiæ non appelletur.*

† *Tit.* 34. *p.* 130.

|| *Inter Extravag.* cap. *Meruit*, tit. *de Privilegiis.*

Quod Concilium dici non merebatur, quia ex capite proprio omnia fecit Dominus Papa, non reſpondente, neque conſentiente ſacro Concilio: *apud* Twiſden, Hiſtorical Vindication, *cap.* 8. *p.* 164. *ex MS.* A great part of this *Walter de Hemingford*'s Works, all his *Chronicon*, which goes down to *Henry* the Third's death, were Printed this year at *Oxford*, and we are promiſed the reſt ſoon.

§ XIII.

§ XIII. 1. Before we proceed to the Council of *Florence*, it will be neceſſary to conſider a little the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, which *Bellarmin* reckons amongſt the Councils that are in part only approved, and that part of them which is not approved, is contradicted by the *Florentine* Council, the great controverſie being, whether the Pope or a Council be ſuperior: the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* have determined in favour of Councils, and the Council of *Florence* and fifth Council of the *Lateran* in favour of Popes.

Council of *Conſtance*, A. Mccccxiv.

2. To appeaſe the Schiſm between the contending Popes a Council met at *Piſa*, from whence it was removed to *Conſtance*, and of the ſeveral Popes, *John* the Twenty third confirms the Acts of the Council, and ſubmits himſelf to its determination, and ſo is depoſed; *Gregory* the Twelfth reſigns his pretenſions to the Popedom; *Benedict* the Thirteenth is diſclaimed by moſt of his own Abetters and deprived in Council. *Martin* the Fifth, who had been preſent all along both at *Piſa* and at *Conſtance*, is choſen, and by his Bull confirmed all that had paſſed, as he was concerned to do, the validity of his own conſecration depending upon the validity of the Councils Decrees. * The Council determins,

The firſt Council of *Piſa*, A. D. Mcccix.

* *Seſſ.* 4. 5.

"That the Synod lawfully aſſembled in the Holy "Ghoſt, making a General Council, repreſenting "the Catholick Church militant, has power im- "mediately from Chriſt, which every one of "whatſoever ſtate or dignity (even the Pope) "is bound to obey, in thoſe things which belong "to the Faith, and the extirpation of the afore- "ſaid Schiſm, and the general Reformation of "the Church of God in its Head and Members, *&c.* It obliges * all ſucceeding Popes for ever to call a Council once in ten years, ordaining that the next immediate Council ſhould be called at the end of five years, and another ſeven years after. "By "this Edict we for ever Enact, Decree and Ordain, *&c.* and preſcribes beſides a certain form of Profeſſion of Faith to be uſed by all Popes for the future. *Martin* † according to the Council's Decree, iſſues forth his Bull for the calling another Council, as he owns himſelf obliged to do by virtue of the ſame Decree. Laſtly, ‖ in a ſolemn manner he con-

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Hoc Edicto perpetuo ſancimus, decernimus & ordinamus, &c. † *Seſſ.* 44.

‖ *Seſſ.* 45.

advised to call a Council: he did so at *Vienne*, in which he found an easie expedient to acquit *Boniface* from the Crimes objected, and himself from the performance of his Oath: This was the ground * and occasion of the calling this Council. But since they were met, the better, 'tis likely to amuse the King, and that their only business might not appear to be to delude him, they proceed to condemn the *Biguardi* and *Biguinæ* certain Hereticks of those times, and for the abominable Enormities † committed by the *Knights Templars*, they dissolve that Order, and settle their Endowments upon the *Knights Hospitalers* of *Jerusalem*. The Feast of *Corpus Christi* was likewise in this Council confirmed, and the Procession on that day instituted, and the Study of the Eastern Languages encouraged. As for the *Clementine* ‖ Constitutions, most of them were made before or after the Council, and published by *Clement*'s Successour, *John* the Twenty second. But one * Constitution had been worth at least four Books of the Five, *viz.* "That the Bishop of the chief See should "not be called Prince of the Priests, or of the Universal "Church: as it had been formerly determined in a Council at *Carthage*, and was now proposed among other particulars to this Council by *Durandus* in a Treatise † concerning the manner of holding General Councils published by him at the Command of *Clement* the Fifth, and presented to the Council. But *Clement* in his Constitutions is so far from any such Design, that he has not so much as revoked the Decision of Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, in the Bull *Unam sanctam*, where he determines it to be a Point necessary to Salvation, that every humane Creature submit it self to the Bishop of *Rome*. Though indeed he did revoke it as to its Exercise in the Kingdom of *France*, by declaring, that the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church were no ways infringed by it ‖. The observation of *Walter de Hemingford*, who liv'd not long after is considerable; "It did not deserve (says he) to be called a "Council, because the Pope did all of his own Head, without the "Consent or Answer of the Sacred Council.

* Vercerius *de rebus gestis* Hen. *Septimi*, *p.* 4. *citatur a* Binio, *in notis ad Concilium.*

† *Conc. Tom.* XI. *part.* 2.

‖ *Proœm. ad* Clement. *Constitut.*

* *Conc. Afric. Art.* 6. *Ut primæ sedis Episcopus Princeps Sacerdotum, vel universalis Ecclesiæ non appelletur.*

† *Tit.* 34. *p.* 130.

‖ *Inter Extravag.* cap. *Meruit*, tit. *de Privilegiis.*

Quod Concilium dici non merebatur, quia ex capite proprio omnia fecit Dominus Papa, non respondente, neque consentiente sacro Concilio: apud Twisden, Historical Vindication, *cap.* 8. *p.* 164. *ex MS.* A great part of this *Walter de Hemingford*'s Works, all his *Chronicon*, which goes down to *Henry* the Third's death, were Printed this year at *Oxford*, and we are promised the rest soon.

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confirms the Acts of the Council, yet after all these Professions and Overt-acts, one hard word comes in and spoils all; he confirms all that had been done *Conciliariter*, in a conciliary way; and from the ambiguity of this Word, those who are against the Superiority of Councils take advantage to say, that those Canons which determin *that* were never confirmed, though their Adversaries have reason to insist, that whatever the meaning of the word may be, yet 'tis great injustice to exclude the most regular and unanimous Acts of the Council from the extent of it.

3. *Martin* the Fifth, *Pius* the Second, and *Julius* the Second, did notwithstanding set forth their Constitutions, forbidding Appeals from the Pope to a General Council, which Constitutions are inserted into the *Bulla Cœnæ Domini*, though to deny the lawfulness of such Appeals is esteemed by *Gerson* * no better than down right Heresie; "It is now constantly asserted to be Heresie, "condemned by a most expres Constitution of the *Council* of *Constance*, and there "also put in practice: for in that very Council the *Poles* appealed from *Martin* to a Future Council upon this occasion: one *John Falkenburg*, a Frier ‖, had writ a Book full of Treason against the State, and had laid a design of a Massacre throughout all *Poland*: the *Poles* would have his Book condemned in Council, as it deserved; but *Martin* desired to be excused, he designed no such matter; upon which the *Poles* appeal, as they had reason; and immediately upon *Martin*'s Constitution forbidding Appeals, *Gerson* published a Treatise among others of the same Subject under this Title †, "Whether is it lawful in matters "of Faith to appeal from the Pope, and to Wave his Judgment? wherein he shews that *Martin*'s Constitution overthrows not only the Council of *Pisa* and *Constance*, but his own Election too; as likewise the Deposition and Renunciation of *John* the Twenty third, *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and *Gregory* the Twelfth; for how can a Pope be deposed, if no appeal can be made from him? * "When they were to Answer to that Ap-"peal (says *Gerson*) there was drawn up, as it was commonly said,

* Ric. *Hist. Con. General.* Lib. 2. *cap.* 3. § 25. *Constanter nunc asseritur, quod est Hæresis damnata per constitutionem expressissimam, & practicatam in Concilio* Constantiensi.

‖ Richer. *Hist. Conc. Gener. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. § 22.

† *Ibid.* § 25. *An liceat in causis fidei a summo Pontifice appellare & ejus judicium declinare.*

* § 24. *p.* 259. *Cui Appellationi cum respondendum esset, lata est, ut dicitur, in Consistorio Generali ac publico, quod ultimo* Constantiæ *celebratum est, minuta quædam sub forma Bullæ, &c. continebatque in nullo casu licere Appellationem a Papa facere, nec ejus judicium in causis fidei declinare: Plane contra Legem Dei Decretaque Concilij.*

"in

" in the laſt General and Publick Conſiſtory, which was held at " *Conſtance*, a ſhort Abſtract in the form of a Bull, *&c.* wherein " it was affirmed, that it was lawful in no caſe to make an Ap- " peal from the Pope, or to decline his judgment in matters of " Faith; *plainly againſt the Laws of God, and the Decrees of the Council*; ſo that here it ſeems we have the ſame Council contradicting it ſelf.

§ XIV. 1. The Council of *Baſil*, as *Richerius* obſerves, was but the practick and executive part of the Council of *Conſtance*, and therefore in the ſecond Seſſ. they lay down the fourth and fifth Seſſ. of *Conſtance* as the Ground and Foundation upon which all their proceedings were to depend. This ſtartled Pope *Eugenius*, ſo that he immediately ſent to his Legate to diſſolve this Council, and indict one at *Bononia*, under pretence of receiving the *Greeks* there with more conveniency, and thither he would come and preſide in Perſon. The Cardinal St. *Angelo*, his *Nuncio*, diſſuades him all he can. The Synod in the mean time is dealt with about a Diſſolution by the Biſhops of *Tarentum* and *Coloſſe*, but is refractary; and in the third Seſſion deſires his Holineſs not to be troubleſome; they recount to him the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* concerning a Council's being above the Pope; in a word, they tell him plainly, 'tis not in his Power to diſſolve them. In the Twelfth Seſſion, they ſet him a time, in which if he think fit to joyn himſelf to the Council, well; if not, they cannot help it, he muſt take what follows: the time ſet was at firſt ſixty days, and in the thirteenth Seſſion, becauſe theſe were expired, and he had not revoked his Bulls, whereby he pretended to have diſſolved the Council, he is accuſed of Contumacy; yet in the fourteenth Seſſion they were ſo kind as to enlarge the time to ninety days, and to propoſe three ſeveral forms to him, by which he might acknowledge the Authority of the Council, and joyn himſelf to it. The Pope could not but remember how the Council of *Conſtance* had dealt with three of his Predeceſſours, and ſo at laſt is brought to a compliance: he owns the Council to be general, and recalls the Bulls iſſued forth for its diſſolution, and declares them void, and that the Council is, and had been all along from the beginning legal, and that his Bulls to diſſolve it did not in the leaſt invalidate its Authority. Hereupon his Legates are admitted into the

The Council of *Baſil*, Mccccxxxi. Lib. 3. cap. 1. §1.

the Council, but not before they had been ſworn to the Decrees of the fourth and fifth Seſſion of *Conſtance*, which define the Superiority of Councils. This was done in the ſixteenth Seſſion, but would not ſuffice, it ſeems; for in the eighteenth Seſſion they again repeat and renew theſe Decrees now a Fifth time, and give this reaſon for it, becauſe it highly concerned the whole Chriſtian World to be certified in the point that the Pope in three caſes is inferiour to a Council, *viz.* when matters of Faith, or the Extirpation of Schiſm, or the Reformation of the Church "in the Head and Members is in agitation.

In Capite & Membris.

2. Now one would imagine all had been well between the Pope and the Council; yet no ſooner was the Emperor *Sigiſmund* dead, of whom he ſtood moſt in awe; but *Eugenius* appoints a Council at *Ferrara*, and that of *Baſil* is as angry and peremptory with him as ever; and, Seſſion the twenty ſixth, ſends him word, that unleſs he appear either in perſon or by his Legate within ſixty days, they will proceed againſt him; and they are as good as their word, for at the end of that term of time, they pronounce his Bull void, and ſhew the invalidity of it in all particulars, inſiſting on the Council of *Conſtance*. Seſſion the thirty third, they proceed yet higher; and in vindication of that Council pronounce all thoſe Hereticks, that deny the Superiority of Councils, and hereupon pronounce *Eugenius* not only a Heretick, but a Heretick relapſed; and this they did after the moſt ſtrict and deliberate determination, in the moſt regular and ſolemn manner. †

† *Seſſ.* 34. 38.

3. Thus we ſee the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* were in five ſeveral Seſſions confirmed by this of *Baſil*, all which were ratified by *Eugenius* himſelf; and *Pius* the Second, in the ſame Bull, whereby he retracts that which he had written for the Council of *Baſil* againſt *Eugenius*, formally approves the Council of *Conſtance*, without making any Exceptions, but expreſly own's the Authority of General Councils, as it was declared and defined at *Conſtance*; beſides, they were twice confirmed after *Eugenius* fell off from the Council, and all thoſe were declared Hereticks, not excepting *Eugenius* himſelf, that ſhould oppoſe this Doctrine: ſo that in the ſenſe of this Council, and of thoſe that acknowledge its Authority, about half of the Roman Communion are Hereticks, and particularly *Eugenius*, with all the Popes ſince his time, ſome one or two excepted. *Panormitan* * indeed

* Richer. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. § 5.

deed undertook to prove that *Eugenius* was no Heretick, but was answered by *Segovia*; and *Almain* President of the Council, and *Panormitan* himself afterwards wrote a Treatise, *For the authority, truth and justice of the Council of* Basil; Which makes it evident, that what he before said, was rather to serve his Master the King of *Arragon*, then Feudatory to the Pope, than to speak his own sense, and indeed there were none but the Bishops of *Italy* and *Arragon* that withstood the Decree. 'Tis very well known how wonderfully the Popedom illuminated *Pius* the Second, and *Julian* Cardinal of *Sancta Crux*, who had been as stout a Champion for the Council of *Basil*, at last was brought over to the Pope's Faction. But I cannot say *Panormitan* dealt so foul as these two, or as Cardinal *Cusanus* * who after he had writ for the Authority of the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius*, was at last drawn over to his side, and was sometime after created Cardinal by *Nicholas* the Fifth, upon which *Richerius* has this Remark †, that many who stand up in defence of the Truth while they are in a low condition, desert it upon hopes of making their Fortune; *Præsertim desiderio Purpuræ Cardinalitiæ*; "Especially with a desire "to get a Cardinal's Hat. And upon this occasion he quotes *John Major* c. 18. comment. in *Mat.* vers. fin. "It "ought not to appear strange to any Body "(says *John Major*) that more should teach "that the Pope is above a Council, than that a "Council is above the Pope; since the Pope "Confers Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefi-"ces; whereas a Council has nothing to give; "but on the other hand, is a sharp Censour "of Manners and a rigid Exactor of strict Discipline. 'So that in his time the greatest part of the *Roman* Communion were Hereticks according to the Council of *Basil*'s Decree; but in this Session whereof we have been speaking, *Almain* tells || *Panormitan*, "That it was not so truly asserted by *Panormitan*, that "they had more Bishops of their side, when even those who "openly declare for them, talk quite otherwise in their own "Houses amongst their Friends than when they speak in the

Pro authoritate veritate & justitia, Basilensis Concilii.

* *Ibid.* § 6.

† *Ib. p.* 479.

Nemini deberi mirum videri, quod plures Papam esse supra Concilium, quam contra, Concilium supra Papam, doceant, cum Papa det dignitates & beneficia Ecclesiastica, Concilium vero nihil det: imo est Censor acerrimus morum, atque disciplinæ severioris Assertor.

|| *Ibid. p.* 466. *Minus etiam vere dictum a* Panormitano *plures habere Episcopos suarum partium, cum illi ipsi, quos assecla habet, longe aliter inter privatos parietes cum familiaribus, quam in publico Sessionum & Actionum Theatro loqui, & dicere soleant se libertate dicendæ sententiæ non pollere, & a principibus suis præpediri metu amittendorum Temporalium.*

"public

" public Theatre of the Sessions and Actions of the Council, and " they used to say, that they had not Power to declare their Opi- " nions freely and that they were restrain'd by their own Princes, " for fear of losing their Temporalities. He means the Bishops of *Italy* and *Arragon*, for all the rest were for the Decree of the three Verities ‖, as they are termed, of Catholic Faith, whereby 'tis pronounced Heresie to maintain the Pope's Authority above that of a General Council.

‖ *Sess.* 33.

‖ *Sess.* 39. ‖ The Council of *Basil* proceed to the Election of a New Pope, and make choice of *Felix* the Fifth, though he soon after resign'd upon the valuable consideration of being made Dean of the College of Cardinals, and perpetual Legate of the Apostolic See for all *Germany*.

Council of *Florence* *An. Dom.* MCCCCXXXVIII *Secundum* Labbe.

§ 15. 1. By this means *Eugenius* the Fourth was at Liberty to call the Council of *Florence*, and to carry all things at his pleasure in it. Thither the *Greeks* are invited to enslave themselves to the *Pope* rather than to the *Turk*, and by pawning their Consciences to save their Bodies and Estates. The business had been in Agitation under *Martin* the Fifth, who sent his *Nuncio* to *Constantinople* to prepare matters, and he bespeaks the *Greek* Emperour and the Patriarch in a very † magnificent Style, " The most Holy and most Blessed, who " has the Disposal of Heaven, who is Lord " on Earth, the Successor of St. *Peter*, the " Christ of the Lord, the Lord of the Uni- " verse, the Father of Kings, the Light of " the World, the Chief Bishop *Martin* V. " by Divine Providence Pope, commands " me Mr. *Anthony Massanus*, &c. This *Nuncio* when he had done his Preamble, and wiped his Mouth, tells the Emperour that his Embassadours at *Rome* * had desired an Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: but the Emperour in return says that his Embassadours went beyond their Commission if ever they proposed an Union with the *Roman* Church in general Terms; but that which they had in Command was only thus much, to procure a General Council, after the order and manner of the Seven Holy General Councils, and then the Holy Ghost would confirm it, and establish it into a peace. In the time of *Eugenius* the Fourth the *Greeks* came ‖, and were pressed

† *Sanctissimus & Beatissimus, qui habet Cœleste Arbitrium, qui est Dominus in Terris, Successor* Petri, *Christus Domini Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, Orbis Lumen, summus Pontifex, Papa* Martinus *Divina* Providentia *Papa Quintus, mandat mihi Magistro* Antonio Massano, *&c.* Acta Conc. Senens. *ap.* Richer. *L.* 3. *p.* 289.

* *Ibid.*

‖ *Hist. Conc.* Florent. *Concil. Vol.* 13.

preſſed by importunity and ſubtilty, and wrought upon by convenient management to conſent to more than ever they deſigned, or than their Church would afterwards own. *Beſſarion* Archbiſhop of *Nice*, and *Iſidore* Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica* for their good ſervices were created Cardinals, but not a *Greek* * would ever own this Council, except thoſe few that were preſent at it, and ſubſcribed it, being over-ruled by more perſuative kind of Arguments than any *Marcus Epheſius* and his party could produce. I ſhall enter into no long ſtory of this Council, 'tis ſufficient that it contradicts the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* in the point of the Pope's Supremacy, and that it was its main buſineſs and deſign to contradict them. *Bellarmin*, *Poſſevin*, *Binius*, *Duvall*, &c. maintain that the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* are nulled by a contrary Decree at *Florence*, though *Bellarmin* and *Duvall*, as *Richerius* obſerves [q], retract what they have ſaid, and contradict themſelves, yet ſtill they exclaim againſt all that adhere to the Decrees of theſe two Councils as Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, though ſometimes in a fit of good nature they would fain offer ſomething in their excuſe. *Duvall* [r] makes no more account of the Council of *Baſil* than of the ſecond of *Epheſus*, but *Bellarmin* * allows it to have been lawfull till the Depoſition of *Eugenius*, though he adviſed [s] that this Council ſhould be left out of the *Roman* Edition as ſpurious.

* *Vid. Hiſt. Conc. Florent. ibid.*

[q] *Lib. 3. c. 7. § 4.*

[r] *Ibid. p. 639.*

* *Vid. Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 2. c. 13, 17.*

[s] *Ibid. p. 669.*

2. 'Tis pretended of late that the Council of *Florence* does not ſet up the Pope above a General Council [t]; though the ſame Author tells us, that the Cardinal of *Lorain* underſtood it otherwiſe in his *Commonitorium* to Pope *Pius* the Fourth [v]. For the Cardinal in the name of the whole *French* Clergy alledges this as the reaſon, why the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* are received in *France*, but that of *Florence* rejected, as neither Legal nor General, becauſe in *France* 'tis held, that the Pope is ſubject to a General Council, and thoſe who teach otherwiſe are accounted Hereticks: and he moreover affirms, that the *French* would ſooner loſe their lives, than depart from this Doctrine and admit of the Titles beſtowed upon the Pope in the Council of *Florence*. And this is enough to ruine for ever the credit of the Council of *Florence* with ſober men, whatever fine expoſitions may be now put upon it by ſome, that the whole *French* Nation declared againſt it, as neither Legal nor General.

[t] Launoy *Epiſt. Part. 3. ad* Thom. Rulland.

[v] *Id. apud* F. Walſh's *Letter to the Biſhop of* Lincoln. *p.* 282.

The fifth Council of *Lateran.* *An. Dom.* MDXII.

§ XVI. 1. The laſt Council of the *Lateran* is yet rather more obnoxious than that of *Florence.* For the ſecond Council of *Piſa* was owned and defended as General by the *French*; and the *Sorbon* deputed three of their Body * to write againſt *Cajetan* on the point, *viz. Almain, Major*, and another, whoſe Book *Richerius* ſaw in Manuſcript, beſides the learned Diſcourſe of *Philippus Decius*, which *Richerius* gives at large. This ſecond Council held at *Piſa* was called by the Emperour and the King of *France*, and by the Pope himſelf, as far as the obligation of his moſt ſolemn Promiſe and Oath could contribute towards it; but the Pope would be held by no ſuch Ties. The Council charge him with Perjury, the Pope tells them they are a company of Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, and they are not behind-hand with him, for in their complaint to *Maximilian*, they tell him, that of all the wicked things which had been wont to be done by Popes, there never was ſuch a thing, as this, in which *Julius* had exceeded the worſt of his own Actions, as well as of his Predeceſſours [x], they charge him with breach of Promiſe and of his Oath, and make the greateſt Villain of him that ever lived. "For what can be "now expected worſe, or more pernicious "in the Chriſtian Commonwealth, than "Chriſt's Vicar himſelf? though they all this while give him the Title of *moſt holy*. *Julius* the Second had ſworn to call a Council within two years, but refuſed to call it any where but at *Rome*, and thereupon appoints one in the *Lateran* to oppoſe this at *Piſa*. The Council of *Piſa* proteſt againſt theſe proceedings; and declare that *Julius* is of a violent and heady temper, and had ſuch a force of Souldiers about him [y], that they durſt not venture thither, nor durſt they ſo much as mention the calling of a Council, while they were at *Rome*; in fine, after a horrid charge and declaration of all his crimes, they proceed to ſuſpend his *Holineſs*, as they call him, in the very Act of Suſpenſion.

The ſecond Council of *Piſa.* MDXI.

* Richer. *Hiſt. Con. Gen. Lib.* 4. *Part.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 167.

[x] *Id. Lib.* 4. *Part.* 1. *c.* 2.

Quid enim jam in Chriſtiana Republica deterius, quid perniciosius expectari poteſt, quàm ipſe Chriſti Vicarius?

Sanctiſſimus.

[y] *Apolog. Conc.* Piſani ap. Richer. *L.* 4. *Part.* 1. *c.* 2.

2. 'Tis true, the King of *France* and all the *French* Clergy after the death of *Julius* renounced the Council of *Piſa*, and adhered to the fifth of the *Lateran* under *Leo* the Tenth, but whether this were not more conſiſtent with their Intereſt, than with their Principles, any man may ſee, that reads the Acts of the *French* Clergy

Clergy afterwards, and conſiders that the *Piſan* Council proceeded all along upon the Decrees of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and that the abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction* in the Council of *Lateran* was but ill received at *Paris*, inſomuch that the *Sorbon* made an Appeal againſt the *Concordate* in vindication of the Decrees of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* and the whole Clergy of *France* appeal from the Pope in the Council of the *Lateran*, " to a Pope better " adviſed, and to a future General Council which ſhould be law- " fully aſſembled.

Ad Papam melius conſultum, & futurum Concilium Generale legitimè congregandum. Richer. *Hiſt. l. 4. Part. 2. c. 1. § 8. p. 25.*

3. Here we have the *French* Clergy firſt maintaining the Council of *Piſa*, and then renouncing it, —— " and at laſt they pro- " teſt in the name of the whole Gallican " Church, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, " of whatſoever degree, ſtate and dignity " they are, who were in the Aſſembly at *Pi-* " *ſa*, that now in obedience to the Apoſtoli- " cal commands, and the King of *France*'s ex- " hortations, they renounce the Aſſembly at " *Piſa* which is now diſſolved, and ſtand by the *Lateran* Coun- " cil; this was *May* the fifth, MDXIV; and in *May* MDXVII. they renounce the Council of the *Lateran* and appeal to another, when nothing new, that appears, had happened in either of the Councils, to make this alteration: for that of *Piſa* proceeded always upon the ſame grounds, and alledged the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* in its juſtification; that of the *Lateran* drove the ſame courſe under *Julius* the Second, and *Leo* the Tenth, as the *French* Clergy ſay in their Appeal from it, onely the neceſſity of the King's Affairs forced him to yield, and his whole Clergy with him. But if the acknowledging or diſclaiming of Councils be onely a matter of ſtate, and changeable with every turn of Affairs, 'tis eaſie to ſee how much certainty we can have of a Council's being General, when in the ſpace of three years the Council of *Piſa* ſhall be General, and then diſavowed by the very Members of it, and another received in its ſtead, and then this as much diſclaimed as the former; and that of *Piſa* ſhall afterwards be again owned in derogation to the *Lateran* Council, and pub-

—— *denique Proteſtantur ſe nomine totius Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ tum Eccleſiaſticorum tum Secularium, cujuſcumque ſint gradûs ſtatûs & dignitatis, qui in* Piſana *interfuerunt Congregatione, obtemperando mandatis Apoſtolicis & Regis* Franciæ *exhortationibus,* Piſano *conventui jam diſſoluto renunciare, &* Laterano *Concilio adhærere.*

liſhed out of the *French* King's Library with the ſpecial Privilege of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, MDCXII.

|| *De Concil. lib. 2. c. 13.*

4. *Bellarmin* himſelf|| ſeems to confeſs that there is ſome reaſon to doubt of the Authority of this laſt Council of the *Lateran*, and *Duvall* in his Book *De Suprema Poteſtate Papæ* againſt *Vigorius*, *Richerius* and others that deny its Authority, durſt not be poſitive in the main difficulty concerning the Bull of *Leo* the Tenth, how far and to what that obligeth, but, as *Richerius* obſerves [a], plays Childrens ſport, he builds Caſtles with Nutſhels, and then plucks them down again.

[a] *Ibid. p. 48.*

5. There were ſcarce eighty in it in all, of which about ſixty onely were Biſhops, and of theſe a great part *Italians*, and none from *France*, nor [b] no Embaſſadour. It was compoſed, ſays the Advocate of Parliament [c], of a few *Italian* Biſhops, who had no other aim but the ruine of our Canonical Elections, and againſt which the *French* have always proteſted, as it is to be ſeen by the Hiſtory of the *Concordate* by M. *Du Puy*.

[b] Du Pin. *Diſſert. 6. p. 430.*

[c] New Hereſie, *p. 103.*

C. of *Trent*, *An. Dom.* MDXLV.

§ XVII. 1. We are come at laſt to the famous *decreeing*, *reforming*, *defining* Council of *Trent*, which is ſo well known, that very little needs here be ſaid of it. The *French* Clergy, it muſt be confeſſed, and all others who maintain the Pope to be ſubject to a General Council, are extremely obliged to Pope *Pius* the Fourth: for, if we believe Cardinal *Pallavicini*, and the *Guide in Controverſies* who ſays it after him, that Pope had nine parts of ten in the Council ready to vote the Pope ſuperiour to a General Council, and yet ſuffered the Controverſie to continue as it was. And indeed the Pope, if he had found no other reſtraints upon him, but what were in the Council might have done his pleaſure in any thing: for there were CLXXXVII. *Italians*, and but LXXXIII. of other Nations, ſo that the *Italians* exceeded all other Nations beſides by CIV. a ſmall number to ſecure a caſting Vote, who then can deny, that the Pope was infallible in the Council of *Trent*, and was abſolutely certain to gain his point?

2. But I ſhall onely obſerve, that the Decrees of Reformation are not in force to this day in *France*, becauſe they are thought to encroach upon the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church; and therefore whenever [d] the Aſſembly of the Clergy or Kingdom of *France* have dealt with the King about the Reception

[d] Gerbais *de Cauſis Majoribus*, *p. 347.*

and

and Publication of that Council, they have always put in an Exception to reserve the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church entire. And in the [c] *Low Countries* when *Margaret* Dutchess of *Parma*, then Governess there, required the Magistrates of every Province to make search, whether any thing in the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* were contrary to the Rights of his Catholick Majesty, or to the ancient customs of their Countrey, they animadverted upon several Chapters, particularly upon *C. 5. Sess. 24.* (which the *French* likewise particularly except against) and they said it was an Innovation, and the King might insist upon his Ancient Right.

[c] *Id. p. 348.*

3. I think nothing can be a greater Evidence, that this Council was not General than the opposition of National Churches in behalf of their particular Privileges in points of Reformation: for a General Council may undoubtedly prescribe to particular Churches in matters of Discipline, as the first General Councils did, and oblige them to a compliance for the peace and benefit of the whole, and the Council must be judge what is most conducing to that end. To deny this Authority to a General Council is plainly to lay its Authority quite aside, and to receive onely as much of it as particular Churches shall think fit: for it were an extravagant thing to demand absolute obedience and submission in matters of Faith, when points of Discipline are insisted upon against the expres Decrees of the Council: a Council may err in Doctrine, but if it have any Authority, this must extend at least to points of Discipline, which are in themselves indifferent, and may be altered, as it shall seem most conducing to the good of the whole Church. *Constantine* after the Council of *Nice* not onely determined the Controversie against *Arius*, but the time of keeping of *Easter*, and other things of Order and Discipline, to which all Churches submitted, whatever eager Debates they had had amongst themselves before. The erecting the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem* into Patriarchates, and the settling of Church-Government was performed in the four first General Councils, yet nothing was objected against the Authority of Councils in such Affairs, nor did the Churches placed under the Patriarchates of *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople* insist upon their particular Privileges; onely the Church of *Rome* was unwilling to have *Constantinople* equalled to her self, and therefore made a troublesome but fruitless opposition in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

4. But

4. But if at this day the Church of *France* be ſo jealous of her Privileges in matters of Diſcipline, we have much more reaſon to be carefull of the Privileges of our common Chriſtianity in matters of Faith; if ſhe inſiſt that her Biſhops have Authority to decide the *Cauſæ Majores*, i. e. all Debates ariſing, whether in matters of Faith or Diſcipline, according to the Decrees of General Councils; how can it be denied us to defend the Ancient Faith according to General Councils truly ſuch? if they reject the Decrees of Reformation, how ſhall we ſubſcribe Pope *Pius*'s Creed? nay how ſhall they ſubſcribe it? not by virtue of any obligation from this Council but becauſe they otherwiſe think the Articles of it True; and for the contrary reaſon we cannot ſubſcribe them becauſe we think them falſe: ſo that the Authority of the Council of *Trent* is really laid aſide on both hands, and the merits of the cauſe muſt be the onely thing in Debate. For to ſay that a General Council properly ſpeaking cannot abridge a particular Church of her Privileges, is to ſay that a particular Church is above a General Council, or at leaſt exempt from its Juriſdiction. This is well enough underſtood at *Rome* where *Gerbais*'s Book in defence of the *Gallican* Privileges is condemned.

§ XVIII. I have done now with their Councils; and have ſhewn how far Papiſts themſelves have been from thinking them infallible, or from acknowledging moſt of them to be General, whatever credit they may have gained by the ignorance and ſuperſtition of latter Ages, when every Aſſembly of Biſhops greater than ordinary was eſteemed a General Council, and every General Council voted it ſelf infallible. For 'tis certain that in the moſt ignorant Ages, they firſt fanſied themſelves infallible, and then took the liberty to ſay and doe what they thought fit, and ſo impoſed many ſuperſtitious conceits and gainfull Projects on the world for infallible Truths. It now remains onely to conſider, whether we can meet with any better ſatisfaction from the conſent of the preſent *Roman* Church, and to enquire whether there be any expedient to reconcile theſe differences concerning the Authority of their ſeveral Councils: But here we are ſo far at a loſs, that we find them in nothing more diſagreeing, than in the very Fundamental Point, upon which all the Authority of Councils depends; and ſo diſ-

agreeing

greeing in this, they muſt be at an eternal diſagreement concerning the Councils themſelves. For ſome making the Pope above a General Council, others a General Council above the Pope, and a third ſort making them co-ordinate; thoſe that place infallibility in the Pope alone, have little reaſon to regard a Council; and thoſe that place it in a Council alone, do upon occaſion as little reſpect the Pope, or judge of General Councils by *Bellarmin*'s Rule, and ſeek no farther than for the Pope's confirmation; but thoſe that think it is in neither ſeparately, can acquieſce in the Determinations neither of Pope nor Council, unleſs they both concur unanimouſly in their Determinations; and whoever make the Church diffuſive to be the Judge of what Councils are General, and what are not ſo, are ſtill at a wider difference from all the reſt.

§ XIX. Our Engliſh Papiſts ſeem generally to be of the laſt Opinion, placing the Authority of the Church in the Agreement of the Pope with a General Council, but making the Authority of General Councils to depend upon the Reception of the Church diffuſive, hereby placing the Authority, *Executively*, onely in General Councils confirmed by the Pope, but *fundamentally and radically* in the Church, upon whoſe Approbation all depends, but by Church they underſtand onely the governing part of it, and ſuch as would have had a right to vote, if they had been aſſembled in Council. This is the Doctrine advanced in the Book ſo much valued by our Engliſh Papiſts, *The Guide in Controverſies*, and becauſe this way has moſt Artifice and Amuſement in it, they are willing to put the iſſue here, though moſt of their Prieſts muſt needs have great Prejudices againſt it from a foreign Education: For the *French* are of the ſecond opinion, and the Pope with all his Adherents of the firſt.

How well the *Guide*'s Hypotheſis has been accepted abroad, I am not able to ſay; but it will be beſt gueſſed at by the conteſt that has been about the two other opinions, whether the Parties ſeem inclinable to admit of the *Guide* as a *Reconciler*.

§ XX. The *Jeſuites* are for no leſs than a Perſonal Infallibility in the Pope, and that in matters of Fact. This is the Diſpute ſo hotly debated of late years between them and the *Janſeniſts*.

For

For the Pope having condemned five Propoſitions in a Poſthumous Book of *Janſenius*, entituled *Auguſtinus*, Forms were drawn up to be ſubſcribed under pain of Excommunication, though the Propoſitions could no where be found in that Book. But as the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome* firſt raiſed the Pope above a General Council to ſecure him againſt the Reformation in *Capite & Membris*, which the other Biſhops have ſo often required, ſo the *Jeſuites* have extended his Infallibility yet farther, even to matters of Fact, and ſo whatever he determins muſt be right in all caſes. It was upon theſe grounds, that Subſcription was to be made to the five Propoſitions by the Seculars and by the Regulars of both Sexes, and was enforced not onely by the Pope, but by the *Gallican* Church. Notwithſtanding, certain Divines, and the Nuns of the *Port Royal* refuſed to make the Subſcription enjoyned, not that they made any ſcruple of the Doctrine it ſelf, which they were required to acknowledge, but becauſe the contrary to it was no where to be found in the Book condemned, but the Pope, they ſaid, had been impoſed upon by thoſe who pretended to have taken the Propoſitions out of that Book. Hereupon aroſe a Controverſie concerning *the Infallibility of the Church* and of the Pope, the *Jeſuites* maintaining that the Pope cannot be miſtaken in a matter of Fact, and that therefore the Propoſitions are in that Book: whatever ordinary Readers may think of it, his Holineſs has determined ſo, and he cannot be miſtaken. For they [f] make no ſcruple to aſſert, that the Pope is as infallible in matters of Fact, as our Saviour himſelf, that he ſaw with the eyes of the Church, as they phraſe it, and diſcovered thoſe Propoſitions by the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt. This is but what the *Jeſuites* maintained in that famous Theſis of *Decemb.* 12. MDCLXI. in the College of *Clermont* as a Catholick Truth repugnant to the *Greek* Hereſie concerning the Primacy of the Pope, *viz.* That Jeſus Chriſt hath given to all Popes, whenever they ſhall ſpeak *è Cathedra*, the ſame infallibility himſelf had, both in matters of Right and of Fact. The Nuns of the *Port Royal*, and all others that refuſed to ſign the Formulary wherein the five Propoſitions of *Janſenius* are condemned, were uſed with great ſeverity, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris* would not be diſſuaded from impoſing the Subſcription. But however the Church of *France* might ſtand

[f] *Les Imaginaires & les Viſionnaires, & la Traitè de la foy humaine. Octavo à* Cologne 1683. *p.* 81, 86, 88.

ſtand affected towards the Pope at that time and in that affair; yet the opinion againſt the Pope's Infallibility is ſo generally maintained in that Church, that it is almoſt peculiar to it, and is termed [g] by the *Jeſuits*, *Sententia Pariſienſis*. *A. D.* MDCLXXXII. the *French* Clergy in a Synod held at *Paris* determined that a General Council is above the Pope, according to the Decrees of the fourth and fifth Seſſions of the Council of *Conſtance*. Againſt this Determination *Emanuel à Schelſtrate*, the preſent *Vatican* Library-keeper wrote a Book printed at *Antwerp*, *An. Dom.* MDCLXXXIII. wherein he endeavours to ſhew from ancient Manuſcripts, that thoſe Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*, which have paſſed ſo long upon the World for authentick, and were ſo often approved and confirmed in the Council of *Baſil*, are notwithſtanding falſe; and he ſticks not to affirm, that they were partly falſified by the Council of *Baſil*, and partly obtruded upon the Council of *Conſtance*, againſt the conſent of a great number in it, and in the abſence of others, and ſo have been impoſed upon the Church ever ſince in ſo many Editions and by ſo many Licences and Approbations, particularly by the Bull of *Paul* the Fifth, before the *Roman* Edition of the Councils, and had the good luck never to be diſcovered by any before himſelf, when he now ſets himſelf to oppoſe the Determination of the *French* Clergy.

[g] New Hereſie of the *Jeſuits*, p. 79.

2. But M. *Schelſtrate* is not the onely man that oppoſed the *Gallican* Church in this Controverſie. For *George Szelepechemy* Archbiſhop of *Gran* and Primate of *Hungary* put forth his Synodical Letter containing a Cenſure of the four Propoſitions, in which [h] is this aſſertion, *Ad ſolam ſedem Apoſtolicam divino immutabili privilegio ſpectat, de controverſiis Fidei judicare*, "It onely be-"longs to the Apoſtolick See, by a Divine immutable Privilege, "to judge of Controverſies of Faith. And he, with his Biſhops were ſo zealous in the defence of that Doctrine, that they profeſs in the concluſion they would ſpend the laſt drop of their Bloud, rather than depart from it. This Propoſition *Jan.* 30. MDCLXXXIII. the Parliament of *Paris* delivered to M. *Edmund Pirot*, Syndick of the Faculty, to be examined, which when the Faculty had received from him, on the firſt of *February* they choſe certain of their body to ſtudy and conſider the Point, and then after due deliberation to give their Judgment upon it. This they did *March* the firſt, and afterwards, for three months together,

[h] *Vide Notas in Cenſur. Hungaricam*, 4. *propoſition. Cleri Gallicani apud* Edmun. Richer. *Vindicias Doctrin. major. Schol. Pariſ.*

gether, in their ſeveral Aſſemblies, which were no leſs than fourty five in number, the Queſtion was propounded to be diſputed upon; and when they had by this means throughly debated and concluded the Controverſie, they declared, That the Propoſition, as it excludes Biſhops and General Councils from that Authority which they have immediately from *Chriſt* in judging in matters of Faith is raſh, erroneous, contrary to the practice of the Church and to the Word of God, as well as to the conſtant Doctrine of the Faculty. This anſwer the Faculty of the *Sorbon* gave to the queſtion *May* the eighteenth, and then reviewing it the day following, confirmed it moreover from the ſeveral Cenſures which had been formerly paſſed by their Body in this and former Ages upon ſuch Tenets. Thus that Reverend and Learned Society [1] made the moſt deliberate and ſolemn determination that could be poſſibly made in any caſe. But the controverſie would not end here: for another Authour under the name of *Eugenius Lombardus* took the Propoſitions into Examination MDCLXXXV. and in contradiction to them aſſerts, that the Pope has Authority to depoſe Kings, that he is above a General Council, that he is Infallible when he determines *è Cathedra*, that he can diſpenſe with Oaths and Vows made to God Almighty. And the ſame year M. *Maimbourg* anſwered M. *Schelſtrate*, but *Schelſtrate* replyed the year following, and ſo the diſpute is ſtill depending, unleſs we can ſuppoſe the defence of ſuch a Cauſe ſhould dye with *Maimbourg*, and no body elſe ſhould be found to defend the *Roman-catholick* Church of *France* againſt the *Catholick* Church of *Rome*. *Schelſtrate* quotes Nine Manuſcripts of the Council of *Conſtance*, and *Maimbourg* Ten; and, which is very ſurpriſing, the Manuſcripts on both ſides have all the Appearance of being Authentick which can be deſired, if we may believe one of our own Church, who is a very able Judge in thoſe matters: But *Maimbourg* has out quoted him by one, and whether it be in confidence of this odds, or for ſome other reaſon, he is poſitive, that the Decrees of a General Council are valid without the confirmation of the Pope. But M. *Schelſtrate* has one Argument which indeed is extraordinary, in that it makes a remarkable diſcovery of the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*; for he aſſured the ſame Perſon, that at the *very ſame time* in which the neceſſity of their Affairs obliged P. *Martin* to confirm the Decrees of the Council of *Baſil*,

[1] *Cenſura ſacræ Facultatis Theolog. Pariſ. ad dandum Senatui reſponſum, data in propoſitionem de qua ille quæſierat, quid ipſa ſentiret.* Pariſiis, 1683.

Baſil, he contrived a ſecret Bull, which in another Age might be made uſe of, to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation; and withall M. *Schelſtrate* promiſed him a ſight of the original of this Bull.

§ XXII. Thus we ſee that notwithſtanding the glorious pretenſions to Unity and the Advantages of an Infallible Church ſo much magnified, the diviſions concerning Infallibility are ſo many and ſo great, that it is onely a fine pompous thing, that may ſerve them to boaſt of, but is otherwiſe of no uſe. For we have at this day the *Jeſuites* againſt the *Janſeniſts*; M. *Schelſtrate* againſt M. *Maimbourg*; and *Nine* Manuſcripts againſt *Ten*; the Archbiſhop of *Gran* againſt the Archbiſhop of *Paris*; and the Synod of *Hungary* againſt that of *France*. Amidſt ſo much oppoſition, how ſhall we hope to find any agreement? The grand Debate between theſe two contending Parties is, whether the Pope or a General Council ſhould have the Preheminence? There is but one way more of diſagreement poſſible in this matter; which is, that neither Pope nor Council is ſuperiour, but that the joint Definitions of both are infallible: this way the *Guide in Controverſies* and his Followers here in *England* take. If the nature of the thing would admit any more differences of opinion, they would undoubtedly be as numberleſs as they are oppoſite, in a diſpute which has ſo much of Prejudice and Intereſt, and ſo little of Reaſon or Scripture in it. Neither is there any way to reconcile theſe contrary Doctrines, unleſs they would all conclude in that, which they all help to prove, *viz. That there is no ſuch thing as an Infallible Judge or Guide here on Earth.* The Pope in the mean while, whom one would think it moſt concerns to interpoſe his Authority and decide the difference, yet ſits by as Neuter, countenancing and encouraging the one, but not by any Authoritative Act diſavowing the other opinion: And indeed how is it poſſible for him by his Authority to decide the Controverſie, when his Authority is the very thing in controverſie?

When, I ſay, there is no way beſides of diſagreement poſſible in this matter, I ſpeak onely of the Point now before us, and would not be thought by any means to exclude the Infallibility of Oral Tradition, nor the Infallibility of the Church diffuſive, including every member of it, nor any other Infallibili-

ty, which can be named, but theſe are diſliked as much by Papiſts abroad as they are by Proteſtants at home, and are utterly inconſiſtent with the Authority of Councils.

§ XXIII. From what has been ſaid, I ſuppoſe it evident, that General Councils cannot be relyed upon as Infallible, if there were no other reaſon againſt it but this, that it is ſo uncertain and doubtfull which Councils are General. And I can foreſee nothing that can be objected againſt this Conſequence, but that the Council of *Trent* comprehends all the reſt, and is inſtead of All. Which indeed magnifies the Council of *Trent* very much, but is not ſo much for the credit of all the General Councils before it; for, beſides that the Council of *Trent* grounds many of her Definitions upon the Authority of General Councils that went before, I conceive that all who lived three hundred years ago were as much concerned to know what Councils were General as any body can be at this day, and an Infallibility which could be of little or no uſe till ſince the Council of *Trent* is ſomething ſuſpicious, unleſs we had better proof than the Authority of that Council to recommend it. I have ſhewn that that Council it ſelf is not received in *France* as a General Council, but onely its Doctrines acknowledged for true, as they were acknowledged, they tell us, before the Councils ſitting: for any thing farther they deſire to be excuſed. And how can that Council be General enough to be Infallible, which is not ſo far General as to oblige a particular Church in points of Diſcipline? 'Tis apparent from the account I have given of them, that we have but the four or at the moſt but the ſix firſt General Councils without Exceptions, and thoſe moſt of them very conſiderable too, ſo that when all is done, we have no reaſon that I can ſee, not to be contented with our ancient Creeds, and the Councils of the firſt Ages which have been acknowledged by all, becauſe they teach the Faith neceſſary to the Salvation of all, while others, which have taught ſome particular fancies, have found a ſuitable reception.

§ XXIV. But if all the eighteen Councils were as General as they are pretended to be, yet it is no good Conſequence, that they are infallible. I could never yet ſee any Grounds from Antiquity to believe the Infallibility of General Councils: I am

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ſure St. *Auſtin* [k] could believe no ſuch thing, when he affirms, that later General Councils may correct the Errours of the former in that known place. Nor *Gregory* the Great [l], who equals the four firſt General Councils to the four Goſpels, but none beſides, and thereby puts a manifeſt difference between General Councils, and ſo could not hold all to be infallible. If we meet with high Expreſſions in the Fathers concerning the extraordinary aſſiſtence of the Holy Ghoſt in General Councils, I know no man but will acknowledge it, if they ſay, that the Holy Spirit did effectually guide them in the Truth, this is no more than we always profeſs to believe, that the Firſt Councils did determine Infallible Truths, and ſo were not miſtaken in their Determinations, but it is but an ill conſequence to ſay, that they could not be miſtaken, becauſe they were not, or that all ſucceeding Councils cannot poſſibly err, becauſe the firſt Councils actually did not err.

[k] *De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas, lib. 2. cap. 3.*

[l] *Lib. 1. c. 24.*

§ XXV. It is not pretended that General Councils are Infallible in matters of Diſcipline, yet I am confident many Expreſſions of the Ancients run as high for theſe as for matters of Faith. The firſt Council that ever was, that of the Apoſtles themſelves, *Act.* XV. was about matters of Diſcipline; and, as the Apoſtles there write, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us*, ſo the following Councils were perſuaded they had immediate directions from the Holy Ghoſt in things of this nature, which made the Emperour *Conſtantine* * the Great, after the Council of *Nice*, urge the uniform obſervation of *Eaſter* in the ſame Terms and from the ſame Arguments as to matter of Authority that they uſed to enforce the *Nicene* Creed. And afterwards † *Leo* the Firſt, writing againſt the twenty eighth Canon of *Chalcedon*, inſiſts, that it contradicted the Conſtitution of *Nice*, which was ordained by the Holy Ghoſt.

* Τύπων δὲ ὄντως ἐχόντων, ἀσυλλήπτως ἂν χεῖσθαι τῷ Θεῷ χάριν, εἰ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐνεπλεύσατο· πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἐν τῇσδε τῇσι ἁγίοις

† Ἐπισκόπων συνιδεῖν περᾶτα), τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι θείαν βύλησιν ἔχειν ἀναφορὰν, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῖς ἐμφυσήσας τὸ παράγγελμα ἦν ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον ὁ πλὸ φθαρτὴν τῆς ἀνωτάτης ἥμερας, ὅπου λύχειν τε καὶ διαπράττειν ὠφέλησε. Euſeb. *de Vita* Conſtantini, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 20. † *Tanquam refutari nequeat, quòd illicitè voluerit multitudo, & illa* Nicænorum *Canonum per Spiritum verò Sanctum ordinata conditio in aliqua unquam parte ſit ſolubilis,* (Leo *Epiſt. ad* Anatol.) ——— *in omnibus Eccleſiis his Legibus obſequentes, qua ad pacificationem omnium Sacerdotum per* CCCXVIII. *Antiſtites Spiritus Sanctus inſtituit,* (*idem ad* Pulcheriam.)

§ XXVI.

§ XXVI. 1. For my part, I cannot but think it a great preſumption to imagin, that the Councils of latter times ſhould equal thoſe of the primitive Ages. For as the Ancients had greater advantages than after Ages could have, to know what the Apoſtles taught, and how they explained their own Writings by their private Diſcourſes and their Sermons, and by their Practice: ſo methinks it is highly reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they had greater aſſiſtences from above. For it ſeems requiſite and agreeable to God's methods of tranſacting with mankind, to afford eminent abilities to inſtruct men fully in Chriſtianity, to thoſe on whom he beſtowed a power of working Miracles to convince the World of the Truth of it; and we muſt in reaſon conclude their Wiſedom in underſtanding the Scriptures, as well as their Miracles to atteſt it, and their Courage and Patience in ſuffering for it to have been ſupernatural. This cannot be denyed of the Apoſtles themſelves: And as it pleaſed God not to let Miracles ceaſe till he had raiſed up men of great Parts and Learning to undertake the Defence of his Religion, ſo we have the ſame reaſon to believe that he would not till then wholly withdraw his extraordinary Gifts and Illuminations; for theſe ſeem to have been as neceſſary againſt the many and pernicious Hereſies ſo early ſprung, as thoſe to vindicate it againſt Infidels. We may well allow greater force to the Aſſertions of St. *Clement*, St. *Ignatius*, St. *Irenæus*, &c. than their Arguments may ſeem to carry, becauſe they may have more of a Divine Spirit in them than we are aware of, and ſo upon that account challenge a higher regard from us, than upon the ſcore onely of their Reaſonings. We muſt indeed ſtill keep to the Analogy of Faith, but why ſhould we too confidently make our ſelves Judges of their ways of arguing, eſpecially from Figures and Allegories? who would have known that the [a] *Rock in the wilderneſs* was *Chriſt*, unleſs St. *Paul* had told him ſo? or, who would have underſtood the Allegory [b] of the two Sons of *Abraham*, unleſs he had explained it? How can we be aſſured, that St. *Paul* and the reſt of the Apoſtles, did not explain many more Types and make many more Allegorical Proofs than we have delivered to us in the Scriptures? 'Tis more than probable they did, in ſo many Sermons to the *Jews* always arguing from the Old Teſtament, inſtructed herein by our Saviour himſelf and

[a] 1 Cor. 10.

[b] Galat. 4.

and by the Holy Ghoſt after his Aſcenſion, as their Followers and immediate Succeſſours likewiſe were. How then can we be aſſured but many of thoſe Allegorical Interpretations which ſome men preſume to ſet ſo light by, might be the Interpretations of the Apoſtles themſelves or of the Holy Ghoſt in theſe Apoſtolical men, as they have been juſtly ſtyled? Thoſe I mean delivered down by primitive Antiquity, made uſe of in all ſucceeding Ages, till men began to be ſo exceeding wiſe as to deſpiſe them.

2. But as the Authority of warranting Apoſtolical Traditions could reach no farther than the firſt Ages, ſo in ſucceeding times we have little reaſon to think that the H. Ghoſt had much to doe in their Councils; Chriſt himſelf ſeems to have been almoſt excluded, ſince *Chriſt's Vicar*, as he ſtyles himſelf, has had ſuch an abſolute ſway in Councils. " If any one ſhall " ſay, there muſt be recourſe to the See and " Court of the chief Biſhop, we will not " deny it, if Divinity ſhall have there two " impartial Doctours, not ſeduced, not proud, " not covetous or envious, not favourers of " the temporal and ſpiritual Power, more " than of the Truth; otherwiſe it would be " more tolerable to have none, than to en- " dure ſuch. *Upon which* Richerius *cries out*; " Good God! Had he but ſeen our times, " wherein the miſchief encreaſes ſo vaſtly e- " very day, that the latter day hath always " been ſharper and worſe than the former, and " doth ſtill continue ſo. And this is to be underſtood, not onely of Diſcipline, but of Faith and Manners. " I ſee (ſays *Gerſon*) that in " thoſe Doctrines which have regard to the " Faith, to Religion, to good and wholſome Manners, there will ſcarce be found " at this time, as things ſtand, unleſs we " ſhould be backt by ſtrong aſſiſtances of the " ſecular Power, either a juſt determination, " or ſpeedy juſtice. Believe a man who has tryed it, *&c.* Such have been the Complaints of good men concerning the Generality of the Popiſh Clergy, and are ſtill in our days, eſpecially concerning

Si dixerit aliquis, fiet recurſus ad Sedem & Curiam Summi Pontificis, non negabimus hoc, ſi Theologia illic habuerit duos Doctores non partiales, non ſeductos, non faſtuoſos, non quæſtuoſos aut invidos, non poteſtati ſeculari, non ſpirituali, plus quàm veritati ſtudentes, alioquin tolerabilius eſſet nullos habere quàm tales pati. Gerſon *apud* Richer. *l.* 2. *p.* 262.

Deus Bone! Si noſtra vidiſſet ſecula, quibus malum in immenſum per ſingulos dies ità excrevit, ut ſemper poſterior dies acerbior & nequior priore extiterit & continuet.

Video quod in Doctrinis, quæ Fidem, quæ Religionem, quæ bonos & ſalubres reſpiciunt Mores, vix invenietur in hac tempeſtate, rebus ut ſunt manentibus, nec habito forti favore potentiæ ſecularis, terminatio debita, vel expedita juſtitia; Experto crede, &c. *Ibid. p.* 260.

concerning all those that challenge the Governing part in Councils. "I wish, says [c] Dr. *Holden*, with all my heart, that with the "loss of my Bloud, I could blot out of the Belief of all experi- "enced men, that nothing but Interest and Faction are preva- "lent in the Court of *Rome*. We need not insist upon the gross Ignorance of former Ages, when the leading men, as we have seen in *Pius* the Second, *Cusanus* and others, employed all their knowledge and cunning to uphold a Faction, which made them go off from one Party to another, as their Interest served, and use all the arts and ways of management which are wont to be used in secular affairs.

[c] Holden's *Let. in* Walsh's *Irish Remonstr. p.* 524.

3. This quite breaks the force of the Argument that is most troublesome to a modest man, that he should oppose his own judgment and the judgments of some few others perhaps, in comparison to the Determination of so many Bishops met in Council; we need but go to *Nic. Clemangis* Works, to *Espencaus* upon the Epist. to *Titus*, to the *Centum Gravamina*, or to an entire Collection of Discourses to this purpose, called *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum:* to the History of the Council of *Trent*, or to the *Concilium Delectorum Cardinalium* to get rid of this Argument, which is so plausibly urged by the *Guide*, and runs through all his Discourses: for if men will so apparently transgress all the measures of Right and Wrong, we have no reason to confide much in them about what is True and False, when it is so much for their interest to uphold the opinion of Infallibility, which yet by their own Confession implies Industry and Abilities as well as Integrity. * For *Melchior Canus* asserts that Councils as well as Popes may err, unless they take care to use all due means in examining the Doctrines defined: That Councils have sometimes acted by Interest and Design is confessed on both hands; the onely Question is, what and how many these Councils have been. He says indeed, that as for himself, he will never admit that any Pope or Council has not used all necessary diligence in determining Questions of Faith: But what matter is it, what he will admit, unless he will answer his own Arguments? if he will admit the Premisses and deny the Conclusion, what is that to us? others of his Communion will own that Popes have erred *è Cathedra*, and he owns, that *Honorius* and other Popes have erred in matters of Faith: now 'tis but carrying the Argument one step farther (*subsunt omnino causæ eædem*)

* *Loci Theologici, l.* 5. *c.* 5. *p.* 322.

Melch. Canus, *Loc. Theolog. l.* 6. *cap. ult. p.* 415.

eadem) and General Councils may err in their Definitions as well as Popes. His words, which are very remarkable, are to this effect; "He grants that we are not to look upon those as the "Judgments of the Apostolick See, which are made in private, "malitiously or inconsiderately by the Pope alone, or by some "few of his Party; but those which appear to have been first "well examined, and by the advice of many wise Men: Now "we have *the very same Reasons* to say the like of Councils, "which I just now mentioned: for we ought not to think that "the Pope onely should be mistaken when he is asleep, and "should speak the truth when he is awake: and that the Fa-"thers of a Council alone should go on right sleeping or wa-"king, and that they should discern difficulties with their "Eyes shut or in the dark. This is in common, believe me, "to all the Judges of the Church, if when they publish their "Decrees, they be driven on by a certain rashness and sudden-"ness of Judgment as by a Wind, to effect nothing which "may be looked upon as solid, grave or certain.

Clamangis is yet sharper, "*Upon whom shall my Spirit rest, but* "*upon the humble man and him who trembles at my Word?* But if "(as our Lord bears witness) it onely rests upon those, and "according to the temper of this Age, there are in all proba-"bility but few such in our Councils, and if there are usually "in every Assembly great numbers of carnal or wordly Men, "ambitious and contentious Men, swelling with that humane "knowledge which puffs up; see the necessity of believing that "the Holy Spirit has always the upper-hand in Councils, when "the minds of the Consulters always resist it, and put a bar "to any thing which might produce sounder and more saving "effects; especially since the Decrees of Councils are wont to "proceed for the most part from the *major* part of the concur-"ring Votes: This I speak not positively, but by way of In-"quiry, *&c.*

Disputat. super mater. Conc. General. in Fasciculo rerum exper. & fugiend. pag. 200. *E.*

But, says *Bellarmin*, it is a sufficient evidence that a Council has not erred, if the Pope has confirmed it, and his Confirmation is the *Criterion* of a truly General Council, or rather of Infallibility; for Councils, whether general or particular, in *Bellarmin*'s [d] account, cannot err, if the Pope has once confirmed them. But, first, Popes have confirmed Councils which

[d] *De Concil. Auctoritate. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

are not acknowledged to be General, as we have seen of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; nay, *Liberius* confirmed the Council of *Sirmium* which was Heretical. Secondly, This involves us yet in farther Difficulties: for these Men, who hold, that without the Pope's Confirmation no Councils can be legitimate, or of sufficient Authority to propose Articles of Faith, are brought to this, that they assert it to be *De Fide*, that the present Pope, whoever he be, is Christ's true Vicar, and Successour to Saint *Peter*, which is the general opinion of the *Jesuits*. But how this could be *De Fide*, when there were so many Antipopes for about seventy years together, or how any Council can be known to be General upon these Grounds is impossible to understand, since if there should be any defect in his Baptism, either as to the Form or the Intention of the Priest, or if any thing should be amiss in his Election or Consecration, he is by a Constitution of *Nicholas* the Second, by a Bull of *Pius* the Fourth, and by a plain and necessary Consequence from their own avowed Principles, not a Pope, but an Invader, and is to be anathematized and withstood by all Christian People. The *French* King would not acknowledge *Clement* the Seventh for Pope, till the Cardinals who chose him, had sworn, that they proceeded canonically, which yet would not satisfie the University of *Paris* and the *French* Clergy. And *Bellarmin*[e] confesses, that it is doubtfull whether the first Council of *Pisa*, MCCCCIX. which deposed *Gregory* the Twelfth, and *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and elected *Alexander* the Fifth, were approved or not: but if it had been certainly rejected, *Alexander* the Sixth would certainly have styled himself, not *Alexander* the Sixth, but the Fifth. And it is, besides says he, almost the common opinion that *Alexander* the Fifth and *John* who succeeded him were true Popes. However of the three Pretenders to the Popedom, these were most generally owned for such. So that if a man can extend his Faith in such an intricate business to all the circumstances requisite to the making a Pope duly qualified for the confirmation of a Council, he can have no reason to make the least scruple of whatever the Council delivers, and so may as well take the Council's word, and never stay for the Pope's confirmation.

Vid. Francisc. Long. Coriol. *Prælud. ad Conc. &* Carleton. *cursus Theolog. Tom. poster. Disp.* 22. § 3.

[e] *De Conciliis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

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However the Infallibility of Councils reſolves itſelf into the Infallibility of Confeſſours at laſt, and every private man believes as much and no more of Councils than his Confeſſour thinks fit to acquaint him with; and ſince the *Jeſuits* have every where almoſt that office, the Councils are generally received as they have put them forth, and underſtood as they explain them, and will be ſo received and underſtood though theſe I have mentioned, or a thouſand more objections lye againſt every one of them.

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